

H. Howard A. Evans

W. Sturges

THOMAS ASTLE ESQ. F.R.S. Sec.

Engraved Jan'y 1793 by J. White Fleet Street.

THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF
WRITING,



AS WELL
HIEROGLYPHIC AS ELEMENTARY;

ILLUSTRATED BY ENGRAVINGS TAKEN FROM

MARBLER, MANUSCRIPTS AND CHARTERS,
ANCIENT AND MODERN:

ALSO SOME ACCOUNT OF

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PRINTING.

SECOND EDITION, WITH ADDITIONS.

BY THOMAS ASTLE, Esq. F.R.S. F.A.S.

AND KEEPER OF THE RECORDS IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

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TO
THE KING.

SIR,

BY YOUR MAJESTY'S gracious permission the first edition of this Work, which was favourably received by the public, was dedicated to YOUR MAJESTY, and a second edition being required, I crave leave to dedicate this also to YOUR MAJESTY with improvements; and am, with all possible respect and gratitude,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most dutiful and obedient

Subject and Servant,

APRIL 1803.

THOMAS ASTLE.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE noblest acquisition of mankind is SPEECH, and the most useful art is WRITING. The first, eminently distinguishes MAN from the brute creation; the second, from uncivilized savages.

The uses of writing are too various to be enumerated, and at the same time too obvious to need enumeration. By this wonderful invention we are enabled to record and perpetuate our thoughts, for our own benefit, or give them the most extensive communication, for the benefit of others. As without this art, the labours of our ancestors in every branch of knowledge would have been lost to us, so must ours be to posterity. Tradition is so nearly allied to fable, that no authentic history can be compiled but from written materials.

From this source, and from ancient paintings, sculptures, and medals, have philosophy, science, and the arts, derived all their successive improvements: succeeding generations have been enabled to add to the stock they received from the past, and to prepare the way for future acquisitions. In the common transactions of life, how limited must have been our intercourse, whether for profit or pleasure, without the assistance of WRITING. Whereas, by this happy mode of communication, distance is as it were annihilated, and the merchant, the statesman, the scholar, becomes present to every purpose of utility, in regions the most remote. While lovers

“Speed the soft intercourse from soul to soul,
And waft a sigh, from Indus to the Pole.”

The practice of writing is of such remote antiquity, that neither sacred nor prophane authors give any satisfactory account of its origin: it has been so long known and used, that few men think upon the subject;

so inattentive are we to the greatest benefits, from their having been long enjoyed: but the philosopher will say with the poet,

“ Whence did the wond’rous mystic art arise,
Of painting *SPEECH*, and speaking to the eyes?
That we by tracing magic lines are taught,
How both to colour, and embody *THOUGHT* ?”^a

The faculty of *IMITATION*, so conspicuous in the human species, has enabled men, in their most rude state, to delineate sensible or visible objects; hence the origin of hieroglyphic representations: but it will appear, that many great and learned men, in all ages, have been so sensible of the difficulty of accounting for the *INVENTION* of the art of exhibiting to the sight, the various conceptions of the mind, which have no corporeal forms, by a small number of elementary characters, or *LETTERS*, that some have supposed them to have been of divine origin, and others have confessed themselves unable to account for their invention. The author felt himself deeply impressed with the difficulties attending the investigation of this part of his subject; but, from the particular course of his studies, and literary pursuits he conceived he might enter upon it with some advantages which others had not possessed.

One of the principal objects of the following work, is the illustration of what has for near two centuries been called, the *DIPLOMATIC SCIENCE*; the knowledge of which, will enable us to form a proper judgment of the age and authenticity of manuscripts, charters, records, and other monuments of antiquity.

The utility of this branch of knowledge, is fully confirmed by the testimonies of the learned, who have bestowed immense application in its culture; from whence considerable advantages have been derived, which are in the highest degree interesting to all orders and degrees of men, in every community.

The archives, public libraries, and private collections, which are repo-

^a Monsieur Breboeuf, speaking of the Phenicians, says,

*C'est de lui que nous vient ces art ingenieux,
De peindre la parole & de parler aux yeux,
Et par les traits divers des figures tracées
Donner de la couleur & du corps aux pensées.*

sitories for objects of this study, contain the most authentic and important records of power claimed or exercised by sovereigns; they preserve their treaties of peace and alliance, the privileges and rights of their people, those that have been granted to the nobles and to cities, and the laws made by particular legislative bodies; they perpetuate those documents, which fix the power of national assemblies; they display the origin of illustrious families, their genealogies, their achievements and alliances; and they furnish us with the surest lights, for acquiring a just knowledge of antiquity both sacred and profane.

They are the best guides for deciding with any certainty as to the power of the clergy in former ages, and the use made of that power.

Princes may there discover the first traces of the elevation of their ancestors, the steps by which they ascended their thrones, and what causes conspired to raise them to that summit of glory and power, which has been transmitted to their posterity. The nobles may there find the titles of their distinctions and possessions; and private persons those of their rights, liberties, and properties.

The very high esteem in which these monuments are held by most learned nations, may be judged of from the emulation they have shewn, in publishing various collections of records, calculated to elucidate the histories of their respective countries, to ascertain the prerogatives of sovereigns, to secure the rights of the people, and to restrain the unjust pretensions of individuals. England, France, Italy, and Germany, have enlightened the world by works of this nature. The publication of the survey of England by William I, called Domesday Book, and of the Rolls and Records of Parliament, will reflect honour on the present reign to the latest posterity.

It is not necessary to enumerate all the benefits that have arisen to mankind from such labours: to them historians are particularly indebted for the elucidation of numberless important facts. Most of the knowledge we at this day possess of ancient times and manners, has been chiefly acquired by the industry of those who, since the restoration of learning, have consulted the inestimable treasures preserved in public libraries, religious houses, and private collections: from this spirit of inquiry, and those records, is derived the principal information we have of the rise and progress of empires, kingdoms, and states; of their laws, manners, customs, and mutual connections.

THE DIPLOMATIC SCIENCE, then, may be considered as a guide to all others; it has an influence on politics, morality, literature, canon and civil law, and even on divinity itself. The divine and the lawyer labour to little purpose, unless they can shew that the testimonies which they adduce, are accompanied by all the necessary marks of authenticity. For if the rules of criticism adopted by learned antiquaries were arbitrary, and the epochs established by them false, ancient writings would be of as little authority as fictions; and were it impossible to ascertain the dates or ages of documents, all their labours would be idle and fruitless, and their production really be, what ignorance has often asserted them to be, nothing better than the works of mere sportive fancy: but a true connoisseur in these studies, will rather agree in opinion with Mr. Casley, who, in his preface to the catalogue of the Royal library, p. 6, has the following words: "I have studied that point so much, and have so often compared manuscripts without date, with those that happen to have a date, that I have little doubt as to that particular." And he observes, that "he can judge of the age of a manuscript as well as the age of man." Mr. Casley, however, is not singular in this opinion: the same has been confirmed by Mabillon, by the Benedictines at Paris, and by many other writers of the most distinguished reputation. Intelligent antiquaries have, in fact, sufficient lights to clear up whatever doubts may arise in their own minds, and to remove every objection, made by those, who depreciate the science from ignorance, or a superficial acquaintance with its advantages.

The proofs of history cannot be built upon a more solid foundation, than that of manuscripts and charters. Historical certainty is generally founded on the evidence of one or two contemporary writers, equally capable and credible, whose testimonies are not contradicted by superior authority. The authenticity of original instruments, is proved by a variety of concurrent circumstances, ceremonies, and formalities. When those documents are found supported by such indubitable testimonies, we may safely declare that they have not been forged. On the contrary when these essentials are wanting, when a manuscript or charter contradicts the established customs of the time in which it was pretended to have been written, or even differs from them in any material particular, it cannot possibly be authentic.

INTRODUCTION.

THE DIPLOMATIC SCIENCE, then, treats of matters which are capable of certainty: truth and falsehood are often manifestly distinguished by it. When no other resource is left, than that of choosing what is more or less probable, its decisions are then regulated by suspicions, doubts, conjectures, and presumptive reasons, more or less cogent, which it collects and estimates with due deliberation, never advancing any thing as certain, but what is supported by the strongest proofs, and introducing what appears more or less suspicious, with its distinctive characters; for if the testimony of contemporary writers is looked upon as the firmest bulwark of historical truths, because they are witnesses of facts that happened in their own days, original acts or writings, which have nothing to do with hearsay or traditional matters, where present events only are related, where every term is weighed with scrupulous care and attention, and where no facts can find admittance, but such as have been approved by the parties, are of a certainty superior to every objection. Most ancient monuments are distinguished by these precautions, or even greater circumspection; and are consequently preferable to the testimony of historians.

HAVING thus stated, and in some measure ascertained, the utility of the DIPLOMATIC SCIENCE; the disadvantages which have arisen from the destruction of the works of the ancients, will justify our entering upon a short view of the irreparable losses which mankind have thereby sustained.

Many events have contributed to deprive us of a great part of the literary treasures of antiquity. A very fatal blow was given to literature, by the destruction of the Phœnician temples, and of the Egyptian colleges, when those kingdoms, and the countries adjacent, were conquered by the Persians, about three hundred and fifty years before Christ. Ochus, the Persian general, ravaged these countries without mercy, and forty thousand Sidonians burnt themselves with their families and riches in their own houses. The conqueror then drove Nectanebus out of Egypt, and committed the like ravages in that country; afterwards he marched into Judea, where he took Jericho, and sent a great number of Jews into captivity. The Persians had a great dislike to the religion of the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians; this was one reason for destroying their

books, of which Eusebius (*De Preparat. Evang.*) says, they had a great number.

Notwithstanding these losses, Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, who reigned about two hundred years before the Christian æra, collected the greatest library of all antiquity, which he deposited in his palace at Alexandria, where it was burnt by Cæsar's troops.

Another great loss was occasioned by the destruction of the Pythagorean schools in Italy; when the Platonic or new philosophy prevailed over the former. Pythagoras went into Egypt, before the Persian conquests, where he resided twenty-two years; he was initiated into the sacerdotal order, and, from his spirit of inquiry, he has been justly said to have acquired a great deal of Egyptian learning, which he afterwards introduced into Italy. Polybius (*lib. ii. p. 175*) and Jamblichus (*in vita Pythag.*) mention many circumstances, relative to these facts, quoted from authors now lost; as doth Porphyry, in his life of Pythagoras.

Learning, philosophy, and arts, suffered much by the loss of liberty in Greece; whence they were transplanted into Italy, under the patronage of some of the great men of Rome; who, by their countenance and protection, not only introduced them into their own country, but even contributed to the revival of them in Greece. The love of learning and of arts amongst the Romans was too soon neglected, through the tyranny of the emperors, and the general corruption of manners; for in the reign of Dioclesian, towards the end of the third century, the arts had greatly declined, and in the course of the fourth, philosophy degenerated into superstition.

Learning and the arts also received a most fatal blow by the destruction of the heathen temples, in the reign of Constantine. The devastations then committed, are depicted in the strongest and most lively colours by Mr. Gibbon, in the 28th chapter of his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. iii. p. 77, & seq.

Many valuable libraries perished by the Barbarians of the North, who invaded Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries. By those rude hands perished the library of Perseus king of Macedonia, which Paulus Æmilius brought to Rome with its captive owner; as did also

the noble library established for the use of the public, by Asinius Pollio, which was collected from the spoils of all the enemies he had subdued, and was greatly enriched by him at a vast expence. The libraries of Cicero and Lucullus met with the same fate, and those of Julius Cæsar, of Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan also perished, together with the magnificent library of the younger Gordian, founded by his preceptor Simonicus, which is said by some to have contained sixty thousand, and by others eighty thousand, volumes. The repository for this vast collection is reported to have been paved with marble, and ornamented with gold; the walls were covered with glass and ivory, the armchairs and desks were made of ebony and cedar.

The loss of Ptolemy's library at Alexandria had been in some measure repaired, by the remains of that of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, which Mark Anthony presented to Cleopatra, and by other collections, so that a vast library remained at Alexandria, till it was taken by storm, and plundered by the Saracens in the seventh century, A. D. 642. Though the Saracens were at that time a barbarous people, yet Amrus (or Amru Ebn al As) the commander of the troops who took this city, was a man of good capacity, and greatly delighted in hearing philosophical points discussed by learned men. John the grammarian, called Philoponus from his love of labour, lived in Alexandria at this time; he soon became acquainted with Amrus, and, having acquired some degree of his esteem, requested that the philosophical books preserved in the royal library might be restored. Amrus wrote to Omar, the Caliph, to know if his request might be complied with; who returned for answer, that "if the books he mentioned agreed in all points with the book of God, the Alcoran, this last would be perfect without them, and consequently they would be superfluous; but if they contained any thing repugnant to the doctrines and tenets of that book, they ought to be looked on as pernicious, and of course should be destroyed." As soon as the Caliph's letter was received, Amrus, in obedience to the command of his sovereign, dispersed the books all over the city, to heat the baths, of which there were four thousand; but the number of books was so immense, that they were not entirely consumed in less than six months. Thus perished, by fanatical mad-

ness, the inestimable Alexandrian library, which is said to have contained at that time upwards of five hundred thousand volumes; and from this period, barbarity and ignorance prevailed for several centuries. In Italy, and all over the west of Europe, learning was in a manner extinguished, except some small remains which were preserved in Constantinople.

In this city, the emperor Constantine had deposited a considerable library, which was soon after enriched by his successor Julian, who placed the following inscription at the entrance:

*Alii quidem equos amant, alii aves, alii feras; mihi vero à puerulo,
Mirum acquirendi et possidendi libros insedit desiderium.*

Theodosius the younger, was very assiduous in augmenting this library, by whom, in the latter end of the fourth century, it was enlarged to one hundred thousand volumes; above one half of which were burnt in the fifth century by the emperor Leo the first, so famous for his hatred to images.

The inhabitants of Constantinople had not lost their taste for literature in the beginning of the thirteenth century, when that city was sacked by the Crusaders, in the year 1205; the depredations then committed, are related in Mr. Harrj's Posthumous Works, vol. ii. p. 301, from Nicetas the Choniote, who was present at the sacking of this place. His account of the statues, bustos, bronzes, manuscripts, paintings, and other exquisite remains of antiquity, which then perished, cannot be read by any lover of arts and learning without emotion.

The ravages committed by the Turks who plundered Constantinople, in the year 1453, are related by Philelphus, who was a man of learning, and was tutor to Æneas Sylvius (afterwards pope, under the name of Pius the second), and was an eye-witness to what passed at that time. This author says, that the persons of quality, especially the women, still preserved the Greek language uncorrupted. He observes, that though the city had been taken before, it never suffered so much as at that time; and adds, that, till that period, the remembrance of ancient wisdom remained

at Constantinople, and that no one among the Latins was deemed sufficiently learned, who had not studied for some time at that place, he expressed his fear that all the works of the ancients would be destroyed.

Still however, there are the remains of three libraries at Constantinople, the first is called that of Constantine the Great; the second is for all ranks of people without distinction, the third is in the palace, and is called the Ottoman library, but a fire happened in 1665, which consumed a great part of the palace, and almost the whole library, when as is supposed. Livy, and a great many valuable works of the ancients perished. Father Possevius has given an account of the libraries at Constantinople, and in other parts of the Turkish dominions, in his excellent work intituled, *Apparatus Sacer*.

Many other losses of the writings of the ancients have been attributed to the zeal of the Christians, who at different periods, made great havoc amongst the Heathen authors. Not a single copy of the famous work of Celsus is now to be found, and what we know of that work is from Origen his opponent. The venerable fathers, who employed themselves in erasing the best works of the most eminent Greek or Latin authors, in order to transcribe the lives of saints or legendary tales upon the obliterated vellum, possibly mistook these lamentable depredations for works of piety. The ancient fragment of the 91st book of Livy, discovered by Mr. Bruns, in the Vatican, in 1772, was much defaced by the pious labours of some well-intentioned divine. The Monks made war on books as the Goths had done before them. Great numbers of manuscripts have also been destroyed in this kingdom by its invaders, the Pagan Danes, and the Normans, by the civil commotions raised by the barons, by the bloody contests between the houses of York and Lancaster, and especially by the general plunder and devastation of monasteries and religious houses in the reign of Henry the Eighth; by the ravages committed in the civil war in the time of Charles the First, and by the fire that happened in the Cottonian library, October 23, 1731.

In all this period of time, many others may be supposed to have perished by that *Hellus librorum, tempus edax rerum*.

Thus it appears, that more of the works of the ancients have perished, than have reached us. To enumerate such as are known to have been destroyed, or lost, in the various branches of science and polite literature,

would form a catalogue of considerable bulk; but the most irreparable and deplorable losses which mankind have sustained, are in the branch of History, and therefore it may be proper to lay before our readers some particulars concerning the works of ancient historians, many of which are so mutilated, that the fragments which remain, serve only to increase our regret for what have been lost or destroyed.

The History of Phenicia, by Sanconiatho, who was contemporary with Solomon, would have been entirely lost to us, had it not been for the valuable fragments preserved by Eusebius, which are mentioned in the following sheets. Manetho's History of Egypt, and the History of Chaldaea, by Berosus, have nearly met with the same fate.

The general History of Polybius, originally contained forty books; but the first five only, with some extracts or fragments, are transmitted to us.

The Historical library of Diodorus Siculus consisted likewise of forty books, but only fifteen are now extant; that is, five between the fifth and the eleventh, and the last ten, with some fragments collected out of Photius and others.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis wrote twenty books of Roman antiquities, extending from the siege of Troy, to the first Punic war A. U. C. 488; but only eleven of them are now remaining, which reach no farther than the year of Rome, 312.

Appian is said to have written the Roman History in twenty-four books; but the greatest part of the works of that author are lost.

Dion Cassius wrote eighty books of history, but only twenty-five are remaining, with some fragments, and an epitome of the last twenty by Xiphilinus.

Many of the works of the most ancient Latin historians have either perished, or are come down to us mutilated and imperfect.

Sallust wrote a Roman History, but there are only some fragments of it preserved.

Livy's Roman History consisted of one hundred and forty, or as some authors say, of one hundred and forty-two books; of this excellent work one hundred and seven books must have perished, as only thirty-five remain. Though we have an epitome of one hundred and forty books, yet this is so short, that it only serves to give us a general idea of the subject, and to impress us with a more lively sense of our loss.

INTRODUCTION.

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The elegant compendium of the Roman History, by Velleius Paterculus, is very imperfectly transmitted to us, great part of that work having perished.

The first and second books of Q. Curtius are entirely lost, and there are several chasms in some of those which are preserved.

The emperor Tacitus ordered ten copies of the works of his relation the historian, to be made every year, which he sent into the different provinces of the empire; and yet, notwithstanding his endeavours to perpetuate these inestimable works, they were buried in oblivion for many centuries. Since the restoration of learning, an ancient ms. was discovered in a monastery in Westphalia, which contained the most valuable part of his annals; but in this unique manuscript, part of the fifth, seventh, ninth, and tenth books are deficient, as are part of the eleventh, and the latter part of the sixteenth. This ms. was procured by that great restorer of learning, pope Leo X. under whose patronage it was printed at Rome, in 1515; he afterwards deposited it in the Vatican library, where it is still preserved. Thus posterity is probably indebted to the above magnificent Pontiff, for the most valuable part of the works of this inimitable historian.

The epitome of Trogus Pompeius, by Justin, may be deemed only a mere shadow of Trogus.

Ammianus Marcellinus wrote thirty-one books, extending from the accession of Nerva, to the death of Valens; but the first thirteen are wanting.

Many other losses are recorded in two excellent tracts, “De Historicis Græcis et Latinis,” by the celebrated Gerard Vossius. To these might be added, a great number of works in different branches of science and polite arts.

The Justinian Code had been in a manner unknown from the sixth till the twelfth century, when *Amalfi*, a city of Calabria, being taken by the Pisans, an original ms. was discovered there by accident.

Varro, who is styled the most learned of all the Romans, and who excelled in grammar, history, and philosophy, is said to have written near five hundred volumes, amongst which were the lives of seven hundred illustrious Romans, enriched with their portraits.

Atticus, the great friend of Cicero, who was one of the most honour-

able, hospitable, and friendly men of the times in which he lived, wrote many pieces in Latin and Greek, which last language he cultivated much after his retirement to Athens. The loss of his work on the actions of the great men amongst the Romans, which he ornamented with their portraits, is much to be deplored, as he had a great taste for the polite arts; and we may conceive, that both the portraits in Varro's work, as well as those we are now speaking of, were well executed, because we cannot doubt but those great men would employ the best artists; and that there were artists capable of producing the most excellent workmanship, appears from the Roman coins of that age still extant, which must have been drawn before they were engraven on metals. So much the more therefore it is to be lamented, that these last works are irrecoverably lost.

It is now time to change the painful task of recording the successive disasters which have befallen the commonwealth of letters, for the pleasing office of relating the events and circumstances which have contributed to the revival and restoration of learning.

The Arabians or Saracens, whose wild and barbarous enthusiasm had destroyed the Alexandrian library in the seventh century, were the first people who were captivated with the learning and arts of Greece; the Arabian writers translated into their own language many Greek authors, and from them, the first rays of science and philosophy began to enlighten the western hemisphere, and in time, dispelled the thick cloud of ignorance, which for some ages had eclipsed literature.

The Caliph Almanzur, was a lover of letters and learned men, and science of every kind was cultivated under his patronage. His grandson, Almanum, obtained from the Greek emperors copies of their best books, employed the ablest scholars to translate them, and took great pleasure in literary conversations. Under the patronage of the Caliphs, the works of the most valuable Greek authors, in different branches of science, were translated into Arabic. In philosophy, those of Plato and Aristotle. In mathematics, those of Euclid, Archimedes, Apollonius, Diophantus, and others. In medicine, Hippocrates, Galen, and the best professors in this branch of science. In astronomy, Ptolemy, and other authors. The Arabian literati not only translated the works of the Greeks, but several of them composed original pieces; as, Abulfeda, Abulpharagius, Bohadin,

and others. For an account of the Arabian writers and literature, see Mr. Harris's posthumous works, vol. ii. chap. vi. vii. and viii.

It will hereafter appear, that it was from the Arabians that these western parts became first acquainted with the Greek philosophy; and from them, several branches of science were introduced into Europe as early as the ninth century, and even into Britain before the end of the eleventh, in which, and in the three succeeding centuries, several Englishmen travelled into Arabia and Spain, in search of knowledge; amongst others, Adelard, a Monk of Bath; Robert, a Monk of Reading; Retiensis, Shelly, Morley, and others, of whom mention is made in the seventh chapter of this work.

Several foreigners also travelled in search of science; amongst others, Gerbert, a native of France, who enriched these western parts with the knowledge which he had obtained from learned Arabians. The abilities of this great man raised him to the Archiepiscopal See of Rheims, then to that of Ravenna, and at length to the Papal Chair, which he filled from the year 998 to 1003: but such was the bigotry and superstition of those times, that these great luminaries of science, though most of them ecclesiastics, were accused of magic by the ignorant herd of their brethren. Even pope Gerbert himself, as bishop Otho gravely relates of him, obtained the pontificate by wicked means; for the bishop assures us, that he had given himself up wholly to the devil, on condition he might obtain what he desired; and that it was to this circumstance, and not to the patronage of the emperor Otho III. who had been his pupil, nor to that of Robert, the French king, his great benefactor, that he owed his election. A cardinal Benno also accuses this great man of holding an intercourse with Demons, nor did superstition and bigotry cease to persecute science and genius till the end of the seventeenth century.

Our Roger Bacon, a Franciscan Monk, who flourished in the thirteenth century, was accused of magic, and was cast into a French prison, where he remained for many years.

Franciscus Petrarch was suspected of magic; and John Faust, who was either the inventor, or amongst the first practisers of the art of printing, was obliged to reveal his art, to clear himself from the accusation of having had recourse to diabolical assistance.

But the great Galileo met with the hardest fate, for he was not only

imprisoned by the inquisition, but was also under the necessity of publicly denying those philosophical truths which he had investigated; and what is worse for posterity, superstition and ignorance persecuted his fame beyond the grave; for the confessor of his widow, taking advantage of her piety, obtained leave to peruse his manuscripts, of which he destroyed such as in *his judgment* were not to be allowed.

This short digression will in some measure account for the slow progress towards the restoration of science, and therefore we must not expect to find that many libraries were formed during the dark ages of Christianity: some few manuscripts, however, escaped the general plunder of the Roman libraries by the Goths.

Cassiodorus, the favourite minister to Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, was a lover of learning; he collected a library, and wrote a book on Orthography. Pope Hilary placed a collection of books in the church of St. Hilary at Rome, about the year of Christ 465.

Some few learned men existed in different parts of Europe, throughout these times of ignorance; our countryman Bede, who was born about 661, and died in 724, was well versed both in sacred and prophane history, as his numerous works testify.

St. Egbert, archbishop of York, was a disciple of venerable Bede; he was a man of great learning, and founded a noble library at York about 735, which was casually burnt in the reign of king Stephen, with the cathedral, the monastery of St. Mary's, and several other religious houses.

Alcuin, called also Albinus Flaccus, was born in Northumberland; he was the disciple of archbishop Egbert, whom he succeeded in the charge of the famous school, which that prelate had opened at York. Alcuin was in all respects the most learned man of the age in which he lived, he was an orator, historian, poet, mathematician, and divine; the fame of his learning induced Charlemagne to invite him to his court; by his assistance that emperor founded, enriched and instructed, the universities of Tours and Paris. In 794 he was one of the fathers of the synod of Francfort, and died at his abbey at Tours in 804. In his epistle to Charlemagne, he mentions with great respect his master Egbert, and the noble library which he had founded. (See bishop Tanner's *Bibl. Brit.*)

Towards the latter end of the same century, flourished our great king Alfred, who engaged the learned Grimbold, and other foreigners of

distinguished abilities, in his service; he founded the university of Oxford, and restored learning in England.

There were in the times of the Saxons several valuable libraries in this island, amongst others, those at Canterbury and Durham, and in the abbies of St. Alban and Glastonbury, were the most considerable.

About the middle of the eighth century, pope Zachary, who was a Greek of much erudition, placed a library in the church of St. Peter at Rome.

The library at Fulda, near Hesse Cassel, was founded by Pepin, in the pontificate of pope Zachary, in which many ancient manuscripts are still preserved. Charlemagne, and his son Lewis the Pious, added much to this library; the former of these princes had a noble library at Barba, near Lyons.

There were a few learned men in different parts of Europe from the time of Charlemagne, till the general restoration of learning in the fifteenth century, but it would exceed the limits of our design to mention even all those of our own country, and therefore we must refer our readers to Cave's *Historia Literaria*, bishop Nicolson's *Historical Library*, and to bishop Tanner's *Bibliotheca Britannica*; however, it may not be improper briefly to mention a few of them.

Ingulphus tells us in his History, that he studied grammar at Westminster, and that he was afterward sent to Oxford, where he read the works of Aristotle, and the rhetoric of Cicero. This writer says, that the Confessor's queen Edgitha was admirable for her beauty, her literary accomplishments, and her virtue. He relates, that many a time when a boy, he met the queen as he was coming from school, who would dispute with him concerning his verses, that she had a peculiar pleasure to pass from Grammar to Logic, in which she had been instructed, and that she frequently ordered one of her attendants to give him two or three pieces of money, or to be carried to the royal pantry, and treated with a repast.

John of Salisbury, who lived in the reigns of Stephen and Henry the Second, appears to have been very conversant in the Latin classics, as also in grammar and philosophy. There were other respectable writers of the eleventh century; an account of whom may be seen in lord Lyttelton's *Life of Henry the Second*, vol. iii. and in the *Philological Inquiries* of the late Mr. Harris.

Several writers of good repute flourished in this country in the twelfth century; amongst others, William of Malmesbury is said to have been a learned man, as well as an historian; and Simon of Durham, was reckoned one of the most learned men of that age.

Matthew Paris flourished in the thirteenth century; he was remarkable for his learning and ingenuity; ~~he~~ was skilled in divinity, architecture, mathematics, history, and painting; he was a good poet and orator, for the age in which he lived.

Geoffrey Chaucer lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; he was not only an excellent scholar, but a mathematician, as well as a poet. After he had finished his studies at Oxford, he travelled into foreign parts in search of knowledge; on his return to England, he became a student in the Inner Temple, and in his latter days wrote his *Treatise on the Astro-labe*, which was much esteemed. Many eminent writers are necessarily omitted, but it is sufficient for the present design to have shewn, that the lamp of learning was prevented from being intirely extinguished, by a few great men who succeeded each other.

The taking of Constantinople, by the Turks, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, as has been already related, was an event which contributed to the general restoration of learning; at that time many learned Greeks fled for protection into Italy and Germany, where they were kindly received, and where they diffused science with great success. Amongst others, were Theodore Gaza, Emanuel Chrysoloras, George Trebizonde, Lascaris, Besarion, and John Argyropilus, appointed preceptor to Laurence de Medicis, by his father Cosmo.

In a short time after this event, the inhabitants of the western parts of Europe made great progress in all branches of literature, and the invention or introduction of printing, which soon followed, completed the triumph of learning, over barbarism and ignorance.

Much praise is due to the sovereigns who reigned in this and the following century, whose generous patronage of letters and learned men greatly contributed to the restoration of science. Learning, like a tender plant, requires the cheering rays of royal sunshine.

The greatest discoveries and improvements in arts, sciences, and literature, have ever owed their establishment to the encouragement and protection of princes, who participated in the honour of those discoveries,

and thereby acquired more real glory, than could have accrued to them, by the most extensive conquests.

Many of the advantages proceeding from the taking of Constantinople, and from the circumstances which attended it, will appear, from a short account of the principal manuscript libraries which have been formed since that event.

The chair of St. Peter was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries filled by several pontiffs, who successively protected learning and learned men. Nicholas V. Pius II. Leo X. Clement VII. and Sixtus V. will be remembered with gratitude by posterity, for the patronage they afforded to literature.

The first of these, may be considered as the founder of the Vatican library at Rome; the others were considerable benefactors to it, and by their industry and influence, greatly enriched that inestimable repository; and many of the succeeding pontiffs, have with great success, followed their example.

The Vatican library is divided into three parts. The first is public, and every one has access to it at different hours upon certain days; the second is kept with more privacy; and the third is only to be seen by persons of certain distinctions, or by those who have express permission for that purpose: this is called the sanctuary of the Vatican.

Several libraries were formed at Rome, as that in the church of St. Peter, those of the fathers of St. Basil; and the Dominicans of Sancta Maria Sopra Minerva; and those in the palaces of Ottoboni, Chiggi, Barbarini, and Altieri.

Libraries were also formed in other parts of Italy; in the royal palace and university of Turin; the noble library of the great duke at Florence; and those of the Laurentian, Benedictine, and Dominican monasteries in the same city. Large collections of manuscripts were also placed in the following libraries; namely, in the convents of St. Severini, Monte Cassini, Monte Oliveto, and St. John de Carbonara; at Naples; the Ducal palace at Modena; the Ambrosian college of Milan; the Ducal palace at Parma; St. Mark's at Venice; the Canons Regular at Bologna; those in Padua, Genoa, and in other places in Italy.

The sciences became so generally admired, that all the princes in Europe endeavoured to promote them in their respective dominions. Philip II. of Spain founded the Escorial library, in which he deposited

that of Mulcy Cydam, king of Fez and Morocco, which contained upwards of four thousand volumes in the Arabic language: he also brought into Spain many manuscripts, which were found in several seminaries of literature in Africa, to which were added a fine collection of eastern manuscripts, as well as a great number of Greek and Latin, which are very valuable: this library suffered much by lightning in 1670, but it has since been greatly augmented by the kings of Spain.

- The library at Salamanca contains a great number of Greek manuscripts, which Ferdinanda Nonius bequeathed to that University. At Alcala is the valuable library collected by cardinal Ximenes.

Francis the First laid the foundation of the Royal library at Paris, which has been continually increasing. Cardinal Fleury, and the great Colbert, spared neither pains nor expence to enrich it. This library is inestimable, and contains a great number of manuscripts in almost every language. For particulars concerning this treasure of learning, the reader is referred to the catalogue of father Montfaucon, and to Mons. Galvis's treatise on French libraries, a new edition of which is wanted, with accounts of those that have changed places and possessors. The Jesuits had, in different parts of France, many fine libraries, some account of what is become of them would be useful. There were many noble libraries in France, but our limits will not permit us to pay them the attention they deserve: therefore the reader is referred to the second volume of Montfaucon's *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum*, published at Paris in 1739.

The emperor Maximilian the First followed the example of the other princes in Europe, and in the year 1480 founded the Imperial library at Vienna, which he enriched with a vast number of manuscripts taken from the monasteries in his Austrian dominions, and with such other manuscript collections as could be made by the German literati.

This inestimable repository of literary treasures was farther increased by the acquisition of the once celebrated Buda library; it has from time to time been augmented with many other considerable libraries, and lately with a great number of valuable and curious manuscripts, which were preserved in the colleges and houses of the Jesuits within the Imperial dominions. In the latter end of the last century, M. Lambecius published at Vienna a catalogue of such manuscripts as were then deposited in the Imperial library; but an additional one, of the accessions

to it since his time, would be very useful; as would a catalogue of those manuscripts that are preserved in the library at Brussels, founded by the late empress queen, in which is deposited several of those lately belonging to the Jesuits in the Austrian Netherlands. The other principal libraries in Germany, are those of the king of Prussia, the elector of Bavaria, the duke of Wolfenbuttel, the duke of Wirtemberg, the duke of Saxe-Gotha; that at Strasburgh, founded by bishop Otho in the sixteenth century; and those at Aylhalt, Helmstadt, Tubingen, Jena, Lavingen, and Ratisbon. There are at Liege the libraries of St. James and St. Benedict, and some mss. in the cathedral at Cologne.

Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, possessed himself of the Royal libraries formerly at Prague and Dresden, which his daughter queen Christina, carried with her to Rome, and they are now preserved in the Vatican; as is likewise the noble library which was formerly at Heidelberg.

The most considerable manuscript libraries in the Netherlands, were lately those of the Carmelites at Bruges; of the Benedictines, the Dominicans, and Carmelites at Ghent; the Jesuits at Antwerp, which with the magnificent library of printed books was on the dissolution of that order, purchased from the late emperor, by the Abbot of Tongerlo near Louvain, for about two thousand four hundred pounds sterling; the public library, and those in several of the colleges at Louvain; those of Middleburgh, Tongeren, Utrecht, and Zutphen; and those at Harderwick and Leyden; in which two last are a great number of Oriental manuscripts. A. Sanderus, a Monk of Affligem, near Brussels, published a catalogue of the manuscripts in the different libraries of the Low-countries, in 2 vols. 4to. Lisle 1641, 1643, to which the reader is referred.

The northern parts of Europe are not without literary treasures. There are two considerable libraries at Copenhagen; one in the university, and the other in the city, which last was founded by Henry Rantzau, a Danish gentleman. There are still remaining some manuscripts in the library at Stockholm, which was founded by Christina, queen of Sweden.

Poland has two considerable libraries, one at Wilna, enriched by several kings of Poland, as we are told by Cromer and Bozius. The other is at Cracow.

The duke of Holstein Gottorp hath a curious manuscript library.

There were but few valuable manuscripts in Russia till the reign of Peter

the Great, who founded many universities, and settled a large fund for a library at Petersburg, which is well furnished.

The royal library at Petershoff is most splendid, and the late empress spared neither pains nor expence, to enrich her country with ancient marbles, pictures, medals, manuscripts, and whatever is magnificent.

There were several collections of manuscripts in England before the general restoration of science in Europe; which had at different times been brought hither by those who had travelled into foreign countries; these were chiefly preserved in the two universities, in the cathedral churches, and religious houses: but in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries several valuable libraries were formed in England. In the reign of king Henry VI. Humphry, duke of Gloucester, made a collection of mss. for his library at Oxford. King Edward IV, and Henry VII, greatly assisted the cause of learning, by the encouragement they gave to the art of printing in England, and by purchasing such books as were printed in other countries. William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, purchased many valuable Greek mss. which had been brought hither by the prelates and others who came to this country, after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. King Henry VIII. may justly be called the founder of the royal library, which was enriched with the mss. selected from those of the religious houses, by that celebrated antiquary, John Leland. Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, enriched the college of Corpus Christi, in Cambridge, with a great number of ancient and curious mss.

In the reign of queen Elizabeth, Sir Thomas Bodley greatly increased the public library at Oxford, which is now called by his name. This great benefactor to mankind in general, and to his country in particular, quitted the court, and applied himself wholly to the purchasing of books and mss. both at home and abroad. By these means he had the satisfaction of furnishing that library with one thousand two hundred and ninety-four mss. and, by the subsequent liberality of many great and illustrious persons, has been since increased to more than eight thousand volumes, including the mss. given by Thomas Tanaer, bishop of Norwich, and the valuable library bequeathed by the will of Dr. Richard Rawlinson.

Considerable augmentations were made to the libraries of the several colleges in the two universities, as also to those of our cathedral churches,

the palace at Lambeth, the lions of court, the college of arms, and others; catalogues of which were published at Oxford in 1697, under the title of *Catalogus Manuscriptorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ*.

Bodley's great contemporary, Sir Robert Cotton, is also intitled to the gratitude of posterity for his diligence in collecting the Cottonian library; he was engaged in the pursuit of mss. and Records upwards of forty years, during which time, he spared neither trouble nor expence.

The noble manuscript library founded by Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, and greatly enriched by his son Edward, who inherited his father's love of science, claims a distinguished place in every account which may be given of the literary treasures of antiquity in general, and of this country in particular. Posterity will ever be indebted to her Grace the late duchess dowager of Portland, for securing this inestimable treasure of learning to the public, by authority of parliament, under the guardianship of the most distinguished persons of the realm, both for rank and abilities; whose excellent regulations have made this library, as also the Royal, Cottonian, Sloanian, and others, now deposited in the British Museum, easy of access, and consequently of real use to the Philosopher, the Statesman, the Historian, the Scholar, as well as to the Artist and the Mechanic.

It must give every one pleasure, who reflects on the improvements which have been made in most branches of science in the three last centuries, that learning and the arts will not as formerly be lost to posterity; because by the means of printing, and the improvements in education, knowledge is diffused through most nations, and is attainable by the generality of the people in every free country; whereby many individuals are qualified to promote, in their respective stations, the arts, as well as the interests, of each community. Science has humanized the mind, has caused men in a great measure to lay aside their prejudices, and has introduced a free intercourse between the literati of most countries, who have united in promoting and improving knowledge and the arts, without entering into the religious or political opinions of each other. The true way of making others love us, will be to treat them with kindness and humanity, and to observe the rule laid down by our great Master, *of doing to others, as we would they should do unto us*; we may then with reason indulge a hope, that every succeeding age will increase the knowledge, the virtue, and the happiness of mankind.

It now remains to give some account of the following work.

The first and second chapters are founded on principles of philosophy, supported by facts, deduced from the histories of different nations.

In the third chapter, which treats of the antiquity of writing, it was necessary to have recourse to the most ancient historians, both sacred and profane; the latter of which are so involved in fable, that it was extremely difficult to separate the ore from the dross. However, the most respectable authors have been consulted, from whom has been selected such evidence, as appeared to be most rational, and to deserve the most credit. Several particulars concerning the civilization of ancient nations, occur in the course of this chapter; which may appear interesting, not only to the historian and antiquary, but also to the philosopher.

In the fourth chapter it appears, that all alphabets are not derived from One, but that most of those now used, are derived from the Phœnician. This chapter contains a general account of such as are supposed to have arisen from that source, which furnishes many important facts relative to the history, population, and the progress of arts and sciences, in the most celebrated nations.

The fifth chapter, contains the History of Writing in different ages and countries, proved from ancient inscriptions, manuscripts, and other authentic documents, of which engraved specimens are given, and several rules are laid down, which may enable our readers to judge of their age and authenticity. This chapter necessarily contains much ancient history, and establishes many important truths, hitherto little known or attended to.

The history of writing in England is very copious, and a great number of authentic documents are engraven for the illustration of our national records. It is observable from some of the engravings in the following plates, that the librarii or book writers, especially in very early times, suffered mistakes to remain in their transcripts of ancient mss. from which it seems to appear, that a few of the specimens above alluded to, stand in need of correction, but they are in truth fac-similes of the original mss. which the editor did not think himself warranted to correct. The writing which prevailed in this island from the time the Romans left it, till the Norman conquest, I have divided into five kinds, namely, Roman-Saxon, Set Saxon, Running-hand Saxon, Mixt Saxon,

and Elegant Saxon; from this last descended what has been called the Monkish English; a species of the writing usually termed Modern Gothic, which was peculiar to this kingdom: various specimens of which are given in the second column of the twenty-seventh plate (p. 150): The writing used by the English lawyers, when they wrote in their own tongue, is partly derived from the same source, and partly from another, which shall be next mentioned. (See plate twenty, p. 108, from N° 13 to N° 19).

William I. introduced into this country corrupted Lombardic letters, which before his time had prevailed in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and some other parts of Europe; this has been called by us Norman Writing; and was generally used in England for grants, charters, and Law-proceedings more than two centuries and a half after the Conquest: many specimens of Norman writing, are given in the twenty-third, and in the two following plates.

From the twelfth century, till after the invention of printing, the ecclesiastics in this country, as well natives as foreigners, used the modern Gothic characters, when they wrote the Latin language; which characters were generally made use of by the Ecclesiastics and Schoolmen in most parts of Europe (see plate 27, p. 150, col. 1). Particular attention is paid to the writing practised in the northern parts of Scotland and in Ireland, and several specimens of mss. in the Gaelic and Ibero-Celtic language are given, (see p. 115, pl. xxii). Our readers are referred to the work, for the accounts of the writing practised in other parts of Europe, from the earliest times, till the invention of printing.

The sixth chapter treats of the writing of the Chinese, and of various Characters and Literary Signs, used both by the ancients and moderns, for brevity, expedition, or secrecy. The facts which appear in the course of this chapter, fully confirm the doctrine laid down in the second and fourth chapters; *that all marks whatever are significant by compact, and that LETTERS do not derive their powers from their forms, but from the sounds which men have agreed to annex to them.*

The seventh chapter treats of Numerals, and of Numeral Characters, which were probably used before letters.

The eighth chapter treats of the Librarii, Notarii, and Antiquarii, among the ancients: of Paintings and Ornaments: of the materials for

writing upon: of Instruments for writing with: and some account of Inks both ancient and modern.

- The ninth chapter contains some account of the Origin and Progress of Printing.

Several of the drawings from whence the engravings in the following work are taken, were done at the expence of Edward earl of Oxford, under the direction of the learned Dr. Hickes, and Mr. Humphry Wanley, Librarian to the earl, a person well versed in ancient mss. These drawings were purchased at the sale of the mss. of the late James West, Esq. and are now in my library, but by far the greatest part I selected from original manuscripts, charters, and other ancient documents.

• In an undertaking of this general nature, some incorrect works have necessarily been referred to; and amongst others, the English Universal History, several parts of which are well compiled, and from the most authentic materials. The facts, which I have stated, are derived from such authors only, as in my judgment appeared to deserve credit, especially in the instances where I have had recourse to them. My thanks are due to several of the officers in the British Museum, who have kindly assisted me in searching after manuscripts, and printed books, relative to the subject of my inquiry. To the Rev. Mr. Price, keeper of the Bodleian library, at Oxford, I am indebted for drawings from ancient manuscripts preserved in that invaluable repository. The late Rev. Mr. Tyson, and the Rev. Mr. Nasmith, of Corpus-Christi college, in Cambridge, furnished me with drawings of ancient and curious manuscripts in that library. I was much indebted to the late Rev. Mr. Owen Manning of Godelming, for the assistance I received from him; and to my friend John Topham of Gray's Inn, Esq. for his kind offices. To the Rev. Mr. Maclagan of Blair in Athol: to Mr. Stuart of Killin, Perthshire, and to colonel Vallancey I am indebted for the translations of the specimens which I have given of Scotch and Irish manuscripts. To the Rev. Mr. Johnstone for the translation of those in the Islandic language; and to several other learned and ingenious gentlemen, as well natives as foreigners, from whose kind assistance much information has been acquired.

OF THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
WRITING.

CHAP. I.

OF SPEECH—OF THE ORIGIN OF HIEROGLYPHICS—OF THEIR DIFFERENT KINDS—HIEROGLYPHICS COMMON TO ALL UNCIVILIZED NATIONS.

THE desire of communicating ideas, seems to be implanted in every human breast. The two most usual methods of gratifying this desire, are, by *sounds* addressed to the ear; or, by *representations* or *marks* exhibited to the eye; or, in other words, by *speech* and *writing*. The first method was rendered more complete by the invention of the second, because it opened a door for communicating information, through the sense of *sight* as well as that of *hearing*. Speech may be considered as the substance; and writing, as the shadow which followed it.—These remarks may be illustrated, by stating a few observations concerning the former, which will naturally lead us to the origin of the latter.

One of the greatest advantages which we possess is that of *speech*, or the power of expressing the conceptions of the mind by *articulate sounds*. By this faculty we are capable of social intercourse, of enjoying the endearments of friendship and the communications of wisdom. Without *language*, we should have been solitary in the midst of crowds; excluded from every kind of knowledge but what fell under our immediate notice; and should have been confined to dull and tedious efforts

of intimating our desires by signs and gestures:—in short, without *speech* we should scarcely have been rational beings.

Two things are essential to *speech*; namely, *mental conceptions*, and *sounds articulate*. The former are, by far, the most excellent, because they originate in, and appertain to, *the mind*; whereas the latter are nothing more than the operations of certain organs of the *body*.

Human voice is produced by two semicircular membranes in the middle of the larynx, which form by their separation the aperture that is termed the glottis. The space between these membranes is not one-tenth of an inch, through which the breath, transmitted from the lungs, passes with considerable velocity: in its passage it is said to give a brisk vibratory motion to the membranous lips of the glottis, which produces the sound called voice, by an operation similar to that which produces sound from the two lips of a hautboy. Galen and others affirm, that both, and the windpipe co-operate in rendering the breath vocal: but later authors do not agree in this opinion. It seems however necessary for the production of voice that a degree of tenseness should be communicated to the larynx, or at least to the two membranes above mentioned. The voice thus formed is strengthened and mellowed by a reverberation from the palate, and other hollow places of the inside of the mouth and nostrils: and as these are better or worse shaped for this reverberation, the voice is said to be more or less agreeable, and thus the vocal organs of man appear to be, as it were, a species of flute or hautboy, whereof the membranous lips of the glottis are the mouth or reed, and the inside of the throat, palate and nostrils the body; the windpipe being nothing more than the tube or canal which conveys the wind from the lungs to the aperture of this musical instrument.*

The learned and ingenious author of *Hermes*,^b with great strength of argument, shews, that *language* is founded in *compact*, and not in *nature*. His friend, lord Monboddo, with great learning and ingenuity, supports the same opinion, and insists that language is not natural to man; but that it is acquired: and, in the course of his reflections,

* See Dr. Beattie on the Theory of Language, p. 246, Lond. 1763, 4to.

^b See *Hermes*, by James Harris, esq. book iii. p. 314, 327.

he adduces the opinions not only of heathen philosophers, poets, and historians, but of christian divines both ancient and modern.^c

Though language, as it is generally considered by grammarians, is a work of art; yet it is evident that *vocal sounds* are founded in *nature*; and man would vary those sounds, as impelled by his passions, or urged by his necessities. This exercise of the organs of speech would produce articulate voices, which are peculiar to the human species; vocal sounds, expressive of emotions, being natural to brutes as well as to men. These *articulate voices* are the first advances towards the formation of a language. The human organs are not, like those of most brutes, confined to particular sounds; but, as men are capable of learning to imitate the several sounds of the brute creation, by that means they acquire a greater variety of sounds than other animals. It is evident that children learn to speak by *imitation*; they acquire articulate sounds before they comprehend the ideas of which those sounds are significant.

It would be digressing from the subject immediately before us, to say more at present concerning the nature of speech, or *audible* language; our inquiry being into the *origin* of *visible* or *written* language.

It is obvious that men would soon discover the difficulty of conveying new ideas by sounds alone; for, as Mr. Harris observes,^d “the senses never exceed their natural limits; the eye perceives no sounds, the ear perceives no figures nor colours;” therefore it became necessary to call in the assistance of the eye where the ear alone was insufficient.

It will presently be demonstrated that men, even in their most uncivilized state, display *a faculty of imitation*,^e which enables them to

^c This author is of opinion that mankind took the hints of the most useful arts from the brute creation, “for,” saith he, “it may be that men first learned to build from the swallow; from the spider, to weave; and from the birds, to sing.” See Monboddo on the Origin and Progress of Language, books i. and ii. p. 237 and 375.

“The first words of men, like their first ideas,” saith Mr. Harris, “had an immediate reference to sensible objects; and, in aftertimes, when men began to discover with their intellects, they took those words which they found already made, and transferred them, by metaphor, to intellectual conceptions.” Hermes, p. 269.

^d Hermes, p. 334.

^e Aristotle says, man is the most *imitative* of all animals.

delineate objects, and communicate information by rude pictures or representations.—For example, a man who had seen a strange animal, plant, or any other new object, for which he wanted a name, would have been almost mechanically led to illustrate his description by *signs*; and, if they were not readily comprehended, by a *rude delineation* in the sand, on the bark of a tree, on a slate, or a bone, or on such materials as first presented themselves: these being handed about, naturally suggested the hint of using this method of conveying intelligence to a distant friend. The exercise of this faculty of imitation, so eminently conspicuous in the human species, will be found, on an accurate investigation, to have been common to all nations, and perhaps coeval with the first societies or communities of mankind.

It is not probable that the art of *picture-writing* was brought to any degree of perfection by one man or nation, or even by one generation; but was gradually improved and extended, by the successive hands of individuals, in the societies through which it passed; and that more or less, according to the genius of each people, and their state of civilization; the ruder nations requiring fewer signs or representations, than the more cultivated. At first, each figure meant specifically what it represented. Thus, the figure of the sun expressed or denoted that planet only; a lion or a dog, simply the animals there depicted: but, in process of time, when men acquired more knowledge, and attempted to describe qualities, as well as sensible objects, these delineations were more figuratively explained; then the figure of the sun, besides its original meaning, denoted *glory* and *genial warmth*; that of the lion, *courage*; and that of the dog, *fidelity*.

A still further improvement in civilization occasioned these delineations to become too voluminous; every new object requiring a new picture, this induced the delineator to abridge the representations, retaining so much of each figure as would express its species. Thus, for example, instead of an accurate *representation* of a lion, a slight sketch, or more general figure of that animal was substituted; and for a *serpent*, either a *spiral* or *crooked line* like the letter S. Besides this, as there occurred a number of ideas, not to be represented by painting, for these it was necessary to affix *arbitrary signs*.

This transition was not so great as at first it may appear. In all probability, these signs were introduced slowly, and by degrees, and in such manner, as to be always explained by the context, until generally known and adopted.

That such was the *origin* and *progress* of this invention, history, and the journals of travellers, furnish us with variety of proofs; hieroglyphics, in all their different stages, being found in very distant parts of the globe. Of these we shall mention some instances.

Joseph d'Acosta relates, that on the first arrival of the Spanish squadron on the coast of Mexico, expresses were sent to Montezuma, with exact representations of the ships, painted on cloth; in which manner they kept their records, histories, and calendars; representing things that had bodily shapes, in their proper figures; and those that had none, in arbitrary significant characters.—It is here to be observed, that the Mexicans had long been a civilized people; so that this kind of writing may be considered among them as almost advanced to its most perfect state.

Specimens of *Mexican painting* have been given by Purchas in sixty-six plates. His work is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire, under its ten monarchs: the second is a tribute-roll, representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury; and the third is a code of their institutions, civil, political, and military.* Another specimen of *Mexican painting* has been published, in thirty-two plates, by the present archbishop of Toledo. To all these is annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to represent; which was obtained by the Spaniards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The stile of painting in all these is the same; and they may be justly considered as the most curious monuments of art, brought from the new world.†

* The originals are in the Bodleian library at Oxford, No. 3134, among Mr. Selden's mss. In the same library, No. 2858, is a book of Mexican hieroglyphics painted upon thick skins, which are covered with a chalky composition, and folded in eleven folds. No. 3135, is a book of Mexican hieroglyphics

painted upon similar skins, and folded in ten folds. No. 3207, is a roll containing Mexican hieroglyphics, painted on bark. These paintings are highly worthy the attention of the curious.

† Upon an attentive inspection of the plates above mentioned, we may observe some approach to the plain or simple hieroglyphic,

Charlevoix and several other travellers testify, that this kind of writing, or rather painting, was used by the North American Indians, to record their past events, and to communicate their thoughts to their distant friends. The same kind of characters, were found by Strahlenberg upon the rocks in Siberia; and the author of the book, intitled, *De vet. lit. Hun. Scyth.* p. 15, mentions certain innkeepers in Hungary, who used hieroglyphic representations, not only, to keep their accounts, but to describe their debtors; so that if one was a *soldier*, they drew a rude kind of *sword*; for a *smith* or *carpenter*, a *hammer* or an *axe*; and, if a *carter*, a *whip*. See *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Paris, 1754, 4to.

The inhabitants of the Friendly Islands, visited by captain Cook, in 1779, make a great number of rude figures, to represent their deities. Captain King, who accompanied captain Cook on his last expedition, brought from one of these islands a piece of cloth, made of bark, on which several rude representations, of men, birds, and

where some principal part or circumstance of the subject, is made to stand for the whole. In the annals published by Purchas, the towns conquered by each monarch are uniformly represented, in the same manner, by the *rude delineation of a house*; but, in order to point out the particular towns, which submitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, sometimes natural objects, and sometimes artificial figures are employed. In the Tribute-roll, published by the archbishop of Toledo, the *house*, which was properly the *picture of the town*, is omitted; and the emblem alone is employed to represent it. The Mexicans seem even to have made some advances beyond this, towards the use of the more *figurative* and *fanciful hieroglyphic*. In order to describe a monarch who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target, ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and those towns which he had subdued. But it is only in one instance, the notation of numbers; that we discern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. The Mexicans had invented artificial marks, or *signs of invention*, for this purpose: by

means of these they computed the years of their kings reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treasury: the figure of a circle represented a unit; and, in small numbers, the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by peculiar marks; and they had such as denoted all integral numbers, from twenty to eight thousand. The short duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing farther in that long course, which conducts men, from the labour of *delineating* real objects, to the simplicity and ease of *alphabetic writing*. Their records, notwithstanding some dawn of such ideas as might have led to a more perfect stile, can be considered as nothing more than a species of picture-writing, so far improved, as to mark their superiority over the savage tribes of North America; but still so defective, as to prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the first stage, in that progress which must be completed, before any people can be ranked among polished nations. See Dr. Robertson's *Hist. of America*, vol. ii. p. 286, and note 54, p. 472—482.

ornaments of dress, are depicted. Besides these, there are some delineations, which have the appearance of arbitrary marks.

This cloth is divided into twenty-three compartments; in one of which, near the centre, is a rude figure, larger than the rest, perhaps of some deity, having a bird standing upon each hand: that on the right hand appears to be addressing itself to his ear. This figure is surrounded by three smaller ones, which may be intended as ministers or attendants. The great figure is much in the stile of the Mexican hieroglyphic paintings at Oxford.^s

The Egyptians undoubtedly carried this art to its greatest extent; and this is one reason why they have been generally considered as the *inventors* of it; every species of hieroglyphics being recorded in their history.

Hieroglyphic writing, strictly so called, is a simple *representation*, or mere picture. The *abridgments* afterwards introduced may be divided into three kinds.

First, when the *principal circumstance* was made to represent the *whole*. In order to signify a battle, two hands were delineated; one holding a bow, another a shield: a tumult, or popular insurrection, was expressed by an armed man casting arrows; and a siege, by a scaling-ladder. This may be stiled a *picture character*; or, as the learned Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, called it, “a Curiologic Hieroglyphic.”

The second, and more artificial method of *contraction*, was, by putting the *instrument* for the *thing itself*. Thus, an eye in the clouds, or eminently placed, was designed to represent God’s omniscience, as perceiving all things; an eye and sceptre, to represent a king; and a ship and pilot, the Governor of the universe. This may be called the *Tropical Hieroglyphic*.

The third, and still more artificial method of abridging picture-writing, was, by *conversion*, or making *one thing* stand for, or represent *another*: for example, the Bull Apis stood for Osiris, and not the *picture* or *image* of Osiris.^b This hath been denominated *The Symbolic Hieroglyphic*.¹

^s This cloth is now in my possession.

^b Some authors have said, that, at first, symbols had some quaint resemblance of, or analogy to, what they represented. Thus, among the Egyptians, a *cat* stood for the *moon*; because the Egyptians held, that the

pupil of her eye was enlarged at the full moon; and was contracted and diminished during its decrease: a *serpent* represented the *divine nature*, on account of its great vigour and spirit, its long age and fevirescence.¹

¹ That these improvements are not

This, and the enormous bulk of the picture volumes, produced a further change in writing; the figures were totally rejected; and, in their room, certain *arbitrary marks* were instituted, expressing not only visible objects, but mental conceptions. These of necessity must be exceedingly numerous, as is the case in the Chinese writings, in which some authors have asserted, they could still trace out the remains of the picture character.

The learned bishop of Gloucester, Dr. Warburton, in his *Divine Legation of Moses*,* observes, that all the barbarous nations upon earth, before the invention or introduction of letters, made use of hieroglyphics, or signs, to record their meaning. Such a general concurrence in the method of preserving events, could never be the effect of chance, imitation, or partial purposes; but must needs be esteemed the uniform voice of nature, speaking to the first rude conceptions of mankind; “for,” adds this learned prelate, “not only the Chinese of the east, the Mexicans of the west, and the Egyptians of the south, but the

imaginary, is proved from a fragment of Sanchóniatho, preserved by Eusebius, recording, “That Taautus, having imitated Ouranus’s art of picture-writing, drew the portraits of the gods Cronus, Dagon, and the rest; and delineated the sacred characters, which formed the elements of this kind of writing. For Cronus, particularly, he imagined the symbols of royalty: four eyes; two before, and two behind, of which two were closed in slumber; and on his shoulders four wings; two stretched out, as in the act of flying; and two contracted, as in repose. The first symbol signified, that Cronus watched though he reposed, and reposed though he watched. The second symbol of the wings, signified, in like manner, that, even when stationed, he flew about; and, when flying, he yet remained stationed. To each of the other gods he gave two wings on their shoulders; as the satellites of Cronus in his excursions, who had likewise two wings on his head, to

“denote the two principles of the mind, “reason and passion.”—Here we see that Ouranus practised a kind of *picture-writing*, which Taautus afterwards improved.

Taautus, or Thoth, was the Mercury, on which name and family all the inventions of the various kinds of writing, were very liberally bestowed; that here mentioned as the improvement of Taautus, being the very hieroglyphics above described; and that as before practised by Ouranus, the same with the simple American paintings.

Such then was the ancient *Egyptian hieroglyphic*; and this the second mode of invention for recording mens actions, not as hitherto thought a device of choice for secrecy, but an expedient from necessity for general use. In process of time, their symbols and delineations, turning on the least obvious, or even perhaps on imaginary properties of the animal or thing represented, either to form or construe this, required no small degree of learning and ingenuity.

* Vol. iii. p. 97 to 305.

“Scythians likewise of the north, as well as those intermediate inhabitants of the earth, the Indians, Phenicians, Ethiopians, Etruscans, &c. all used the same way of writing, by picture and hieroglyphic.”

We shall dismiss the present chapter, by endeavouring to impress the minds of our readers with a distinction which will be found to be of great importance in the present inquiry; namely, the difference between *imitative characters* and *symbolic or arbitrary marks*.

“Every medium,” says Mr. Harris, in his *Hermes*, p. 331, 332, “through which we exhibit any thing to another’s contemplation, is either derived from *natural attributes*, and then it is an *IMITATION*; or else from *accidents quite arbitrary*, and then it is a *SYMBOL*.” The former may be truly said to derive its origin from that imitative faculty which is so conspicuous in the human species; the latter is founded in necessity or convenience, and becomes significant by compact: the one hath only an immediate reference to sensible objects, which present themselves to the sight; the other to mental conceptions: in short, the former is applicable to hieroglyphic representations; the latter comprehends *symbols and marks for sounds*, significant of ideas by adoption. Hence we may conclude, that all representations, marks, or characters, which were ever used, by any nation or people, must have been either *imitative* or *symbolic*.^b

^b Διαφέρει δὲ τὸ ΟΜΟΙΩΜΑ τῷ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΥ, καθόσον τὸ μὲν ὁμοίωμα τὴν φύσιν αὐτὴν τῆ πράγματος κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἀπειχονίζεσθαι βέλεται, καὶ ἐκ ἔστιν ἐφ’ ἡμῶν μεταπλάσσει. — τὸ δὲ γε σύμβολον, ἥτοι σημειὸν τὸ ὅλον ἐφ’ ἡμῶν ἔχει, ἅτε καὶ ἐκ μόνης υφίσταμενον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπινόησις.

A REPRESENTATION OR RESEMBLANCE differs from a SYMBOL in as much as the resemblance aims, as far as possible, to represent the very nature of the thing, nor is it in our power to shift or vary it: but a SYMBOL or SIGN, is wholly in our power, as depending singly for its existence on our

imagination. *Ammon. in lib. de Interp.* p. 17, l.

The above is the meaning to be annexed to the word *symbol*, the principal use of *words* being to explain *things*; but the great Lord Bacon truly observes, “That the first distemper of learning is, when men study *WORDS* and not *MATTER*.” Shaw’s Bacon, vol. i. p. 25. That excellent writer was so strongly impressed with this sentiment, that he makes the same observation in different parts of his works. It is said of Plutarch, that, like a true philosopher, he regarded *things*, more than *words*.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ORIGIN OF LETTERS.

VARIETY OF OPINIONS ON THIS SUBJECT—ALPHABETIC WRITING NOT FIRST COMMUNICATED TO MOSES, NOR OF DIVINE ORIGINAL—GENERAL REFLECTIONS—PROGRESS OF THE HUMAN MIND TOWARDS THE INVENTION OF AN ALPHABET—HOW ACCOMPLISHED—OF THE COMPOSITION AND NOTATION OF LANGUAGE.

THE art of drawing ideas into vision, or of exhibiting the conceptions of the mind by legible characters, may justly be deemed the noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boast: an invention which hath contributed more than all others to the improvement of mankind.

The subject of this chapter hath engaged the attention, and perplexed the sagacity, of many able and judicious persons for more than two centuries: some of the most respectable writers have reasoned upon erroneous principles, and, by their works, have obscured the true path which might have led to the discovery of Letters. Monsieur Fourmont, bishop Warburton, and Monsieur Gebelin, have endeavoured to shew, that alphabets were originally made up of hieroglyphic characters; but it will presently appear, that the letters of an alphabet were essentially different from the characteristic marks deduced from hieroglyphics, which last are marks for things and ideas, in the same manner as the ancient and modern characters of the Chinese; whereas the former are only marks for sounds; and, though we should allow it an easy transition, from the Egyptian hieroglyphics, to the characteristic marks of the Chinese, which have been demonstrated by Du Halde and others to be perfectly hieroglyphic, yet, it doth not follow, that the invention of an alphabet must naturally succeed these marks. It is true, there is a sufficient resemblance between the Mexican picture-writing, the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and the Chinese characters; but these are

foreign to alphabetic letters, and, in reality, do not bear the least relation to them.

The hieroglyphic characters of the Chinese, which are very numerous, are in their nature *imitative*, and do not combine into words, like arbitrary marks for sounds or letters, which are very few, and are of a symbolic nature. We shall shew, that these authors, whose learning and ingenuity entitle them to the highest respect, and whose writings have furnished many useful hints towards the discovery of alphabetic characters, have not filled up the great chasm between picture-writing and letters, which, though the most difficult, was the most necessary thing for them to have done, before they could attempt to account for the formation of an alphabet. We shall demonstrate, that letters do not derive their *powers* from their *forms*, and that originally their forms entirely depended on the fancy or will of those who made them.^a—Other writers who have considered this difficult subject, have freely confessed that it was above their comprehension.^b

Many learned men have supposed that the alphabet was of *divine origin*; and several writers have asserted, that letters were first communicated to Moses by God himself;^c whilst others have contended, that the Decalogue was the first alphabetic writing.

It is highly proper for us to inquire how far these opinions are well founded; for, if they can be supported, there is an end of our pursuit; but if it shall appear that they are warranted neither by *reason* nor by *scripture*, we shall be at full liberty to pursue our inquiry: for the satisfaction therefore of those who have adopted these opinions, it is incumbent on us to have recourse to the Holy Scriptures themselves.

^a See Mons. Fourmont's *Reflections crit. sur les Hist. des Anc. Peuple*, tom. ii. a Paris 1735.—The *Divine Legation of Moses*, by the late Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, vol. iii. p. 121. Mons. Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*, vol. iii. Paris, 1775.

^b Mr. Wise's *Essay on the Origin of the Language and Letters of Europe*, p. 92, 93. See *Universal History*, vol. xx. p. 18, p. H.

^c Of these opinions were St. Cyril, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, and Isidore

of Seville, amongst the fathers; and Mr. Bryant, Mr. Costard, Mr. Windar, with many others, among the moderns. See St. Cyril against Julian, book viii.; Clement of Alex. book i. *stromat.* cap. 23; Euseb. *Preparat. Evang.* lib. ix. cap. 7; Isidore, *Origin.* lib. i. cap. 3; Mr. Bryant's *Ancient Mythology*; Mr. Costard's *Letter to Mr. Halhed*; and Mr. Windar's *Essay on Knowledge*, p. 2. ch. i. *Univ. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 212. Note T.

The first mention of *writing* recorded in Scripture, will be found in Exodus xvii. v. 14; “*And the Lord said unto Moses, Write^a this, for a memorial, in a book; and rehearse it in the ears of Joshua; for I will utterly put out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven.*” This command was given immediately after the defeat of the Amalekites near Horeb, and before the arrival of the Israelites at Mount Sinai.

It is observable; that there is not the least hint to induce us to believe that writing was then newly invented; on the contrary, we may conclude, that Moses understood what was meant by *writing in a book*; otherwise God would have instructed him, as he had done Noah in building the ark;^c for he would not have been commanded to *write* in a *book*, if he had been *ignorant of the art of writing*: but Moses expressed no difficulty of comprehension, when he received this command. We also find that Moses *wrote* all the words and all the judgments of the Lord, contained in the twenty-first and the two following chapters of the book of Exodus, before the two written tables of stone were even so much as *promised*.^d The delivery of the tables is not mentioned till the eighteenth verse of the thirty-first chapter, after God had made an end of communing with him upon the mount,^e though the ten commandments were promulgated immediately after his third descent.

It is observable, that Moses nowhere mentions that the alphabet was a *new thing* in his time, much less that he was the inventor of it;

^a The Hebrew word is כָּתַב, which word is generally used for drawing letters or literal characters; *to write*; Exod. xxiv. v. 4; and chap. xxxiv. v. 18.—See Parkhurst’s Lexicon.

^c Gen. vi. ver. 14, 15, 16.

^e The different times of Moses’s ascending and descending the Mount are distinguished in the following passages.

<i>First ascent.</i>	<i>Second ascent.</i>	<i>Third ascent.</i>	<i>Fourth ascent.</i>
Exod. xix. v. 3.	Exod. xix. v. 8.	Exod. xix. v. 20.	Exod. xxiv. v. 13.
<i>First descent.</i>	<i>Second descent.</i>	<i>Third descent.</i>	<i>Fourth descent.</i>
Exod. xix. v. 7.	Exod. xix. v. 14.	Exod. xix. v. 25.	Exod. xxxii. v. 15.

^d “And Moses *wrote* all the words of the Lord,” &c. Exod. xxiv. v. 4. “And he took the book of the covenant, and *read* it in the audience of the people; and they said, All that the Lord hath said we will do, and be obedient.” Ibid. v. 7.

on the contrary, he speaks of the art of writing, as a thing well known, and in familiar use; for, Exodus xxviii. v. 21, he says, “And the stones shall be with the names of the children of Israel, TWELVE; according to their names, *like the engravings of a signet*, every one with his name, shall they be, according to the twelve tribes.” And again, v. 36, “And thou shalt make a plate of pure gold, and *grave upon it, like the engravings of a signet*, HOLINESS TO THE LORD.” Can language be more expressive? Would it not be absurd to deny that this sentence must have been in *words and letters*? But writing was known and practised by the people in general in the time of Moses, as appears from the following texts, Deut. chap. vi. v. 9; chap. xi. v. 20; chap. xvii. v. 18; chap. xxiv. v. 1; chap. xxvii. v. 3, 8. By this last text, the people are commanded to *write* the law on stones; and it is observable, that some of the above texts, relate to transactions *previous* to the delivery of the law at Mount Sinai.

If Moses had been the *inventor* of the alphabet, or received letters from God, which till then had been unknown to the Israelites, it would have been well worthy of his understanding, and very suitable to his character, to have explained to them the nature and use of this invaluable art which God had communicated to him: and may we not naturally suppose, that he would have said, when he directed the workmen to engrave names and sentences on stones and gold, “And in these engravings you shall use the alphabetic characters which God hath communicated to me, or which I have now invented, and taught you the use of?” But the truth is, he refers them to a model in familiar use, “*like the engravings of a signet*,” for the ancient people of the east, engraved names and sentences on their seals in the same manner as is now practised by the great LAMA of Tartary, the princes in India, the emperor of Constantinople, and his subordinate rulers.

In the State Paper office at Whitehall, are a great number of letters from eastern princes to the kings of England, the seals of which have not the likeness of any thing impressed upon them, but are inscribed with

^b See more texts on this subject in Genesis, chap. xxviii. verses 9, 10, 11; and chap. xxxix. v. 30; Deut. chap. xxviii. v. 58 and 61; and chap. xxix.

moral sentences. This custom is not peculiar alone to the princes who profess the Mahometan religion, but is common all over the east.

A letter from Shah Soleiman, king of Persia, to king Charles the second, was inclosed in a silken bag, at the mouth of which is a signet or privy seal of wax, impressed with the following sentence, in the Persian language and characters, which are thus translated by Dr. Hyde: "SHAH
"SOLEIMAN IS THE SERVANT OF RELIGION, 1667."

At the bottom of the letter is the great seal, which is stamped or printed on the paper with ink. Within a semi-circle, in the upper part of the seal, is this sentence, in Persian: "HAVE GOD BEFORE THINE EYES."

Round the seal, are words in Persian to the following purport: "PRAISE BE TO GOD WHO HATH BESTOWED UPON US HIS SERVANTS
"THE VIRTUE OF JUSTICE, AND HATH TURNED AWAY MANY EVILS
"FROM THE SUCCESSORS OF MAHOMET AND HIS FAMILY."

In the centre are the following words: "THIS IS FROM SOLEIMAN,
"AND IT IS IN THE NAME OF GOD GRACIOUS AND MERCIFUL, 1668."

The seal of the emperor of Morocco, stamped or printed on a letter from him to queen Anne, written in the year 1706, is inscribed with words, in the Arabic language and characters, to the following purport: "THE
"SERVANT OF THE MAJESTY OF THE MIGHTY UNDER GOD. ALY BEN
"ABDALAH EL HAMAMY WHOM GOD ESTABLISH." In my collection are two seals of the present great Lama of Tartary, inscribed with characters nearly Shanscrit. There are also in the Bodleian and Sloanian libraries, and at the India House, many seals of Asiatic princes and potentates, inscribed with sentences.ⁱ

If this art had been *a new discovery* in his time, he would probably

ⁱ Pliny, lib. xxxii. chap. 1. informs us, that the Oriental nations, and the Egyptians, made use of letters only upon their signets. The industrious authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, (vol. iv. p. 75), say, That the ancient kings of Persia and the Turkish emperors did the like. The learned abbot of Claraval, Monsieur du Pin, in his *Universal Historical Library*, p. 21, supports these authorities; and adds, that there is an

infinite number of ancient and modern stones thus engraven, which were used for signets. That signets were used by the Hebrews, before they went into Egypt, we learn from Gen. chap. xxxviii. v. 18, where it appears, that Judah gave Thamar his signet, &c.: and it is reasonable to suppose, that this signet was similar to those used by the Israelites, and the other neighbouring nations.

have commemorated it, as well as the other inventions of music, &c.; nor is there any reason to suppose, that God was the immediate revealer of the art; for Moses could never have omitted to have recorded the history of so important a circumstance, as the memory of it would have been one of the strongest barriers against idolatry.

It is incumbent on us to mention, that several respectable prophane authors, attribute the discovery of letters to the gods, or to some divine man. Plato delivers his sentiments very plainly upon this subject, Επειδὴ φωνῶν ἀπειρὸν κατενόησεν εἴτε τις θεὸς εἴτε καὶ θεὸς Ἀνδρῶν. The same author, in his Phædrus, makes the god *Theuth* or *Mercury*, the inventor of letters. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Mercury invented the first characters of writing, and taught men the rudiments of astronomy;^b and Cicero, in his Tusc. Quest. lib. i. delivers his opinion upon this subject in the following words: “Quid illa vis, quæ tandem est, quæ investigat occulta?—aut qui sonos vocis, qui infiniti videbantur, paucis
“literarum notis terminavit?—*Philosophia vero omnium mater artium, quid est aliud, nisi, ut Plato ait, donum, ut ego inventum Deorum?*” The same author, in his *Natura Deorum*, lib. iii. says, that *Hermes* or the fifth Mercury, whom the Egyptians called *Thoth*, first communicated letters to that people. The Gentoos affirm, that letters were communicated to their ancestors by the Supreme Being, whom they call *Brahma*.^c

Although, from these authorities, we may infer that the art of writing is of great antiquity, yet they discover to us that the ancients had very imperfect ideas of its true origin; for Plato says,^d that some, when they could not unravel a difficulty, brought down a god, as in a machine, to cut the knot: and the learned bishop of Gloucester observes, that the ancients gave nothing to the gods, of whose original they had any records; but where the memory of the invention was lost, as of seed corn, wine, WRITING, civil society, &c. the gods seized the property, by that kind of right which gives strays to the lord of the manor.^e

^a See vol. ii. p. 18; edit. Serran.

^b Lib. i. sect. 1.

^c See Mr. Halhed's preface to the Gentoos Laws.

^d See the *Cratylis* edit. Fisc. p. 291.

^e Bishop WARBURTON's *Divine Legation*, vol. iii. p. 62.

The holy scriptures having left this subject open to investigation, and the prophane writers having given us nothing satisfactory upon it, we are at liberty to pursue our *inquiry into the origin of letters*; but, in order to qualify ourselves for this task, it may be proper to enter into a philosophical contemplation of the *nature of letters*, and of their *powers*, which will best enable us to discover the *true origin* of their invention.

A little reflection will discover, that men, in their rude uncultivated state, had neither leisure, inclination, nor inducement, to cultivate the powers of the mind to a degree sufficient for the formation of an alphabet; but when a people arrived at such a state of civilization, as required them to represent the conceptions of the mind which had no corporeal forms, NECESSITY, the mother of invention, would occasion further exertions of the human faculties, and would urge such a people to find out a more expeditious manner of transacting their business, and of recording their events, than by *picture-writing*; for the impossibility of conveying a variety of intellectual and metaphysical ideas, and of representing *sounds* by the emblematic mode of writing, would naturally occur, and therefore the necessity of seeking out some other that would be more comprehensive, would present itself.

These exertions would take place whenever a nation began to improve in arts, manufactures, and commerce; and the more genius such a nation had, the more improvements would be made in the notation of their language, whilst those people who had made less progress in civilization and science, would have a less perfect system of elementary characters; or would for ages advance no further in this art, than the marks or characters of the Chinese.^f Hence it results, that the business of princes, and the manufactures and commerce of each country, produced the necessity of devising some expeditious manner of communicating information to their subjects, or commercial correspondents at a distance. Such an

^f If it should be asked, why the Chinese still adhere to the ancient mode of writing; it may be answered, that their adherence to *arbitrary marks*, formed, and still continues to form, a part of the civil and religious

policy of their country; in the same manner as the prohibition of printing, forms a part of the civil policy within the dominions of the emperor of Constantinople.

improvement was of the greatest use, not only to the sovereign and the statesman, but to the manufacturer and the merchant.

We shall for the present, omit the mention of the several modes of writing which were practised by different nations, in the course of their progress towards civilization, because the accounts will more properly come under the history of the writing of each country; particularly under that of Egypt, whose inhabitants displayed every species of writing in the course of their improvements. At present we shall pursue that part of our inquiry which relates to the *formation of an alphabet*.

Let us then in this place just premise, that *arbitrary marks* are of different kinds. *First*, those used by the Chinese; many of which were originally picture-characters. *Secondly*, those used by the *notarii* amongst the ancients, and by the present short-hand writers; and *thirdly*, MARKS for SOUNDS; such as elementary characters or letters, and musical notes.

The marks of the *first* and *second* kind are very numerous, as will appear hereafter; those of the *third* are very few, as will presently be demonstrated.

It seems obvious, that whilst the picture or hieroglyphic presented itself to the sight, the writer's idea was confined to the figure or object itself; but when the picture was contracted into a mark, the *sound* annexed to the thing signified by such mark, would become familiar; and when the writer reflected, how small a number of sounds he made use of in speech to express all his ideas, it would occur, that a much fewer number of *marks* than he had been accustomed to use, would be sufficient for the notation of all the *sounds* which he could articulate. These considerations would induce him to reflect on the nature and power of *sounds*; and it would occur, that, *sounds* being the matter of audible language, *marks* for them must be the elements of words.

Aristotle justly observes, "that *words* are the marks of *thoughts*; and *letters*, of *words*." Words are sounds significant, and letters are marks for such sounds.*

The learned author of *Hermes* above quoted, informs us, "That about twenty plain elementary sounds, we owe that variety of arti-

* See lord Bacon's Works by Shaw, vol. i. p. 137.

h Book iii. chap. 2. p. 324.

“ culate voices which have been sufficient to explain the sentiments of
 “ so innumerable a multitude, as all the present and past generations
 “ of men.”

As there are but a small number of marks for sounds, called *notes in music*, so there are but a small number of distinct articulate sounds in every language. In different languages their number differs; and there are but few sounds in any two languages that are exactly the same; although by the great intercourse between the European nations, the sounds of different languages daily assimilate.

Mr. Sheridan says, that the number of simple sounds in our tongue are *twenty-eight*.¹ Doctor Kenrick says, we have only *eleven* distinct species of articulate sounds, which even by contraction, prolongation, and composition, are increased only to the number of *sixteen*; every syllable or articulate sound in our language, being one of this number.² Bishop Wilkins, and doctor William Holder, speak of about thirty-two or thirty-three distinct sounds.

It has been said, that among the Greeks and Romans, their written alphabet exactly accorded to the several distinct *sounds* and modes of articulation in their languages; so that each sound had its distinct mark, by which it was uniformly and invariably represented. Ten simple marks or characters, have been found sufficient for all the purposes of numerical calculations, which extend to infinity.

Seven notes comprize the whole of music: these, by their different arrangements, produce that variety of harmony which we so justly admire. If we would ascend higher than eight notes, we only begin another series of the same distances.—Again, the *scale* doth not admit of a division into equal parts: this must correspond with the laws of sound: as every piece of music is but these notes varied, it must come to a close in the lowest note or its octave.

It is evident, that, from the confined nature of the organs, the simple natural sounds to be distinct must be few; and though artifice or affectation may invent a greater variety, they must be deficient in precision

See Sheridan's Rhetorical Grammar, prefixed to his Dictionary, printed at London in 1780.

² See Dr. Kenrick's Rhetorical Grammar, prefixed to his Dictionary.

as they increase in number. Indeed there are several sounds proceeding from inanimate objects; as, the murmuring of a stream, &c. that are not adapted to the human organs of utterance.

It would be digressing too far from our subject, to enter into a discussion concerning the number of sounds that are known to exist, nor is this necessary; for as *sounds* are few, the *marks* for them need not be many; but marks for *things* are very numerous.

It is however requisite for our readers to distinguish between *visible* and *audible language*. This distinction is justly made by St. Augustine in the following words: “*Signa sunt verba visibilia, verba signa audibilia.*”

The articulate sounds of vocal or audible language are resolvable into sentences, words, and syllables; and the analysis of language into *elementary sounds*, seems first to have led to the invention of *symbols*, or marks, for mental conceptions. This invention must have taken place much about the time that men began to reform the barbarous jargon they first spoke, and form a language; for which purpose, the knowledge of elementary sounds and their powers, was absolutely necessary. The progress in this science, as has been already observed, must have been by degrees: men would begin no doubt, by distinguishing the *sound* of one word from that of another,—this would not be difficult; then they would resolve words into syllables, which would not be so easy: but it is likely that they stopt there for a long time, perhaps for ages, before they came to the last resolution of syllables into the distinct *sounds* of which they are composed. This was a very extraordinary work of art, which could only be performed by those who had considered the laws of *sounds*; and could not be the result of *chance*, as some speculatists have imagined; for this was in fact, the decomposition of a language into the *sounds* of which it was composed.

The next step towards the notation of language, would be the delineation of a separate *mark* or *letter* to denote or stand for each sound; which *marks* though few in number, would admit of so great a variety of arrangements and combinations, as would be capable of producing an infinity of articulate sounds, sufficient for the composition of syllables, words, and sentences; and consequently for the notation of language.

That able mathematician Tacquet informs us,^b that the various combinations of the twenty-four letters (without any repetition) will amount to 620,448,401,733,239,439,360,000. Thus it is evident, that twenty-four letters will admit of an infinity of combinations and arrangements, sufficient to represent not only all the conceptions of the mind, but all words in all languages whatever.^c

It is easy to conceive the astonishment of the human mind, at the first discovery of the doctrine and powers of combinations, which immediately led to the composition of written language, by the assistance of a small number of marks or letters; though the transferring of ideas by these means from the ear to the eye, was a very extraordinary effort of the human mind; yet if we suppose that the analysis of the sounds of language was already made, it was no more than finding out marks for what was known before: and we have already shewn, in the preceding

^b Tacquet's *Arithmetica Theor.* p. 517, edit. Amst. 1704.—Clavius the Jesuit, who also computes these combinations, makes them to be only 5,852,616,738,497,664,000; but either number will be sufficient to establish what is here advanced.

^c The ingenious Wachter, in his *Natura et Scriptura Concordia*, p. 64, endeavours to shew, that ten marks, or characters, are sufficient for this purpose.—His scheme is as follows:

Genus.	Figura.	Potestas.
Vocal.	○	a. e. i. o. u.
Guttural.	⊙	k. c. ch. q. g. h.
Lingual.	ℒ	l.
Lingual.	ℓ	d. t.
Lingual.	⤿	r.
Dental.	□	s.
Labial.	3	b. p.
Labial.	η	m.
Labial.	≡	s. ph. v. w.
Nasal.	Λ	n.

Hæ literarum formæ, etiamsi numerum digitorum non excedant, quia scilicet natura diligenter inspecta plures non suppedit, sufficiunt tamen omnibus omnium linguarum vocibus scribendis. Nam quæ videntur deficere, sunt literæ compositæ, & novis formis non indigent.

Perhaps ten marks might be sufficient for the notation of any language, if the whole depended solely upon the powers of combinations; which is not the case.

chapter, that symbols were in general use among mankind, before they knew the use of letters; and therefore the invention of the latter, was nothing more than the transferring the former method of representation, to the elements of sound. If the notation of music had been invented before letters, which might have happened, the discovery would have been just as great as that of letters.^a

As there are more sounds in some languages than in others, it follows of course that the number of elementary characters or letters, must vary in the alphabets of different languages. The Hebrew, Samaritan, and Syriac alphabets, have twenty-two letters; the Arabic twenty-eight; the Persic; and Egyptian or Coptic, thirty-two; the present Russian forty-one; the Shanscrit fifty; the Cashmirian and Malabaric are still more numerous.

^a It has been observed, that the eye perceives no sounds, the ear no figures nor colours; and yet a piece of written music conveys ideas of sounds to the mind through the medium of sight, which enables a proficient in music to produce vocal or instrumental harmony. Children learn to speak, by imitating the sounds pronounced by those about them; and when

they begin to read, they take their first rudiments from *sounds*, which they hear pronounced by the persons who teach them.—A strong argument, that speech, letters, and the knowledge of things, are first acquired by children through the medium of sounds, to which they are taught to annex ideas.

Mr. Sheridan observes, that our alphabet is ill calculated for the notation of the English tongue, as there are many *sounds* for which we have no letters or marks; and there *ought* to be *nine* more characters or letters to make a complete alphabet, in which every *simple sound* ought to have a *mark* peculiar to itself. The reason of the deficiency is, that our ancestors adopted the Roman alphabet for the notation of our language, though it was by no means suited to it.

Every alphabet is to be considered as the elements of words, wherever it may be received by compact: for our readers must not forget, that all words, as well as symbols, letters, or elements of words, are significant only by habit or agreement.

As vocal or audible language is resolvable into sentences, words, and syllables; so written or visible language is composed of letters, syllables, words, and sentences.

A letter is an arbitrary mark, made to signify or stand for a particular sound significant by compact; and may be properly termed a mark for a certain known sound.

A determinate or established number of these marks, constitute the elements or alphabet of written language. The combinations and arrangements of these elements or letters, as settled by consent or compact, compose the written languages of civilized nations.

The first step towards the composition of written language, is to convey an idea of some sound; either by a single mark or character, or by writing two or more of them, which form a syllable: one or more of these syllables make a word; which is a *voice articulate*, and significant by compact: a sentence is a compound quantity of sounds significant; of which certain parts are themselves also significant: several words make a sentence, and several sentences a memoir or discourse.

Writing then, may be defined to be the art of exhibiting to the sight

* Letters in Hebrew are called אותיות *Othioth*, i. e. *Signs*, as being the signs or representations of our words.—In Greek, letters are called Γράμματα, from γραμμή, a *line*, because they are composed of lines. The Latin *Literæ* is from *Linea*.—The Greeks used the word Σημεία, i. e. *signs*, to denote letters;

which agrees with the Hebrew etymology. The Roman writers called them *Elementa*;—thus Horace says:

— Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
Doctores elementa velint ut discere prima.

See also Lucret. de Rerum Nat. lib. ii. and lib. v. v. 1444.

the conceptions of the mind, by means of *marks* or *characters* significant by compact of the *sounds* of language, which enable us to transfer ideas from the eye to the ear, and *vice versa*.^f

Thus it has been shewn how ideas may become the objects of vision, and be exhibited to the eye in legible characters; and that the notation of language may be performed, by making a sufficient number of *marks for sounds*, and by arranging and combining them properly.^g

The elements of all written language are divided into *vowels* and *consonants*; the former of which, is defined to be a *simple articulate sound, uttered by a single impulse of the voice, and forming an articulate sound by itself*; whereas a consonant forms no articulate sound of itself, but only assists in forming a sound.

The vowels were probably invented first, but the consonants form the body of language, and are properly termed the *bones* and *sinews* thereof.

The consonants are divided into mutes, and liquids, which will seldom join together in the same syllable; nor will any two of the mutes associate in a syllable, either in English or in Latin. There are some exceptions as to the association of the mutes.

The first composition of written language, is of letters into syllables; but it is observable, that all letters will not compound with all; the vowels will not only mix with each other, or form diphthongs; but they will compound in syllables with all the consonants so called, because they sound in company with the vowels. But this does not hold of the consonants with respect to one another; for only some of them sound together in syllables, whilst others cannot associate together in that way; the reason of which is, that the configuration of the mouth, and the action of its organs, are so different in the pronunciation of some

^f For example, if I read,—the ideas of the author are impressed upon my mind through the medium of sight by the *marks* for sounds; and these ideas are impressed upon the minds of the auditor, through the sense of hearing. On the other hand, if I dictate to an amanuensis, *my ideas* are conveyed to him, through the medium of sounds significant, which he draws into vision, by the means of *marks significant of those sounds*.

^g The great lord Bacon observes, that before a thing is effected we think it impossible; and when it is done, we wonder it was not done before. Shaw's Bacon, vol. i. p. 29. And in another place he says,—“When new things are demonstrated, the mind receives them by a kind of affinity, as if we had known them before.”

of them, that they cannot be joined together in the same enunciation, nor without some rest or pause betwixt; so that there must be time to give a different configuration and action to the organs; whereas, when the pronunciation is not so different, the sounds may be so run together, as to incorporate in one syllable; and in this way, five, or even six consonants, may be joined in the same syllable, as in the English word *strength*.

The next composition of articulate sounds, is of syllables into words; and the better the composers of such words were acquainted with the nature and harmony of *sounds*, the more harmonious would be their written language. On the contrary, a deficiency in the knowledge of *sounds*, is a considerable obstruction to the discovery of *what* consonants will incorporate with each other; and from this ignorance proceeds that redundancy and superfluity of letters, which is conspicuous in many languages.^a

It is observable, that many of the consonants, which admit of a junction in the same syllable, do not produce harmonious sounds. In truth, the manliness or effeminacy, the harmony or harshness, of a written language, will, in a great measure, depend upon the proper or improper junction of letters in syllables. The proper arrangements and combinations of letters, constitute that branch of science called *Grammar*, which consists of four parts; namely, orthography, prosody, etymology, and syntax.

Grammarians divide language into what they call parts of speech; but they differ as to the number of the parts, of which speech is composed.¹ Mr. Harris clearly shews, that all words whatever, are either

^a The extraordinary length of words, is a property common to all barbarous languages. "The words of barbarous languages are long and full of vowels; not short and full of consonants, as hath been imagined."—See Monboddo on the Origin and Progress of Language, second edit. vol. i. b. iii. p. 496, 532, 539, 599.—See also the accounts given of the languages of the inhabitants of the new discovered countries in the southern hemisphere, by Dr. Forster and others.—See also Roger Williams's Key to the Language of America, Lond. 1643.

The orthography of any language was very imperfect, till men had not only reduced their language to certainty, by grammatical rules, but till they had polished the same, by rejecting superfluous letters; thus in England, we had no certain rules for the orthography of our language, so lately as the reign of king Henry the eighth.

¹ Plato, in his Sophist, mentions only two parts of speech.—Aristotle four;—the latter stoics five;—we say there are eight.

Substantives, Attributives, Definitives, or Connectives; the substantives may be called nouns; the attributives, verbs; the definitives, articles; and the connectives, conjunctions.^k As to the pronouns, adverbs, prepositions, and interjections, he is of opinion, that they must be found included within the species above-mentioned.^l

^k All things whatever either exist as the energies or affections of some other thing, or without being the energies or affections of some other thing. If they exist as the energies or affections of something else, then are they called *Attributes*. Thus, to think, is the attribute of a man; to be white, of a swan; to fly, of an eagle; to be four-footed, of a horse.

If they exist not after this manner, then are they called *Substances*. Thus man, swan, eagle, and horse, are none of them attributes, but all substances; because however they may exist in time and place, yet neither of these, nor of any thing else, do they exist as energies or affections.

And thus all things whatsoever, being either substances or attributes, it follows of course, that all words, which are significant as principals, must needs be significant of either the one or the other. If they are significant of substances, they are called *Substantives*; if of

attributes, they are called *Attributives*. So that all words whatever, significant as principals, are either substantives or attributives.

Again, as to words, which are only significant as accessories, they acquire a signification, either from being associated to one word, or else to many. If to one word alone, then, as they can do no more than in some manner define or determine, they may justly for that reason be called *Definitives*. If to many words at once, then, as they serve to no other purpose than to connect, they are called for that reason by the name of *Connectives*.—Hermes, p. 28 to 31.

^l Pronouns are evidently included in nouns, adverbs in verbs, and prepositions in conjunctions, they being merely connectives.—(Hermes, ut supra).—Interjections are certain voices of nature (rather than voices of art) expressive of emotions.—Hermes, p. 290.

CHAP. III.

OF THE ANTIQUITY OF WRITING.

THE CLAIMS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS TO THE INVENTION OF LETTERS; NAMELY,—OF THE EGYPTIANS—PHENICIANS—CHALDEANS—SYRIANS—INDIANS—ARABIANS.—OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS.—OF ANTE-DILUVIAN WRITING.

THE art of writing is of so great antiquity, and the written annals of ancient nations are so imperfect or fabulous, that it will be extremely difficult to decide to what nation or people the honour of the invention belongs; for, as Sir Isaac Newton justly observes, “there is the utmost uncertainty in the chronology of ancient kingdoms, arising from the vanity of each in claiming the greatest antiquity, while those pretensions were favoured by their having no exact accounts of time.”

It has already been observed, that Letters were the produce of a certain degree of civilization among mankind; and therefore it is most probable, that we shall obtain the best information, by having recourse to the history of those nations who appear to have been first civilized.

As a great number of authors have decided in favour of the Egyptians, who have an undoubted claim to an early civilization, we shall begin our inquiries with that people; and, as they displayed every species of writing in the course of their improvements, we shall pursue the thread of their history, which will reflect considerable light on what has been already advanced.

Dr. Warburton, bishop of Gloucester, affirms, that the Egyptians were the first people who discovered the knowledge of the divine nature; and amongst the first who taught the immortality of the soul. In another place he gives us an account of the state of their learning and superstitions

* Divine Legat. of Moses, vol. i. p. 165; vol. ii. p. 100 to 105; vol. iii. p. 17; ibid. p. 25 to 40. We are indebted to this prelate for great part of what is here said of the Egyptians.

in the time of Moses. He contends, that Egypt was the parent of all the learning of Greece, and was resorted to by the Grecian legislators, naturalists, and philosophers. The same prelate, with great erudition, and strength of argument, endeavours to prove, that Egypt was probably one of the first civilized countries on the globe.

In order to give the reader a clear idea of the several kinds of Egyptian writing, it will be proper to observe, that this writing was of four kinds. The first, *hieroglyphic*; the second, *symbolic*; the third, *epistolic*; and, the fourth and last, *hierogrammatic*.

Porphÿry,* speaking of Pythagoras, informs us, “ That he sojourned
“ with the priests in Egypt, and learnt the wisdom and language of the
“ country, together with their *three* sorts of letters; the *epistolic*, the
“ *hieroglyphic*, and the *symbolic*; of which, the hieroglyphic expressed
“ the meaning of the writer, by an imitation or picture of the thing
“ intended to be expressed; and the symbolic, by allegorical enigmas.”
Clemens Alexandrinus is larger and more explicit:—“ Now those who
“ were instructed in the Egyptian wisdom, learn, first of all, the method
“ of their several sorts of letters; the first of which is called *epistolic*; the
“ second, *sacerdotal*, as being used by the sacred scribes; the last, with
“ which they conclude their instructions, *hieroglyphical*. Of these dif-
“ ferent methods, the one is in the plain and common way of writing by
“ the first elements of words, or letters of an alphabet; the other, by
“ symbols. Of the symbolic way of writing, which is of three kinds;
“ the first is, that plain and common one, of *imitating* the figure of the
“ thing represented; the second is, by *tropical marks*; and the third, in
“ a contrary way, of allegorizing by *enigmas*.

“ Of the first sort, namely, by a plain and direct *imitation* of the
“ figure, let this stand for an instance:—to signify the sun, they made
“ a circle; the moon, a half circle. The second, or *tropical* way of
“ writing, is by changing and transferring the object with justness and
“ propriety: this they do sometimes by a simple change, sometimes by
“ a complex multifarious transformation; thus they have engraven on
“ stones and pillars, the praises of their kings, under the cover of theo-

* De Vita Pythag. cap. xi. and xii. p. 15.

“logic fables. Of the third sort, by *enigmas*, take this example; the “oblique course of the stars, occasioned their representing them by “the bodies of serpents; but the sun they likened to a scarabæus, “because this insect makes a round ball of beasts dung, and rolls it “circularly, with its face opposed to that luminary.”

These two learned Greeks, though not quite correct in their definitions of writing, prove, that the several kinds above-mentioned were used by the Egyptians. Indeed, they reckon but three kinds of writing, when in fact, there were four. Porphyry names only three sorts; *epistolic*, *hieroglyphic*, and *symbolic*: and this was not much amiss; because the fourth, the *hierogrammatic* or *sacerdotal*, not differing from the *epistolic* in its nature, he comprised it under the *general* term of *epistolic*.—It is observable, that Porphyry judiciously omits to explain epistolary writing, as supposing it to be well known: but Clement adds to *epistolic* the *hierogrammatic*, which was alphabetic, but being confined to the use of the priests, was not so well known: he with equal judgment explains the nature of these characters.

The Egyptians, as hath been observed, in the most early ages, wrote like all other infant nations, by *pictures*; of which rude original essays some traces are yet remaining amongst the hieroglyphics of Horapollo, who tells us, that the ancient Egyptians painted a man's two feet in water to signify a *fuller*; and smoke ascending to denote *fire*. But to render this rude invention less incommodious, they soon devised the more artful and expeditious way of putting the principal part for the whole, or by putting one thing of resembling qualities for another. The former was the *curiologic hieroglyphic*; the latter, the *tropical hieroglyphic*; which last was a gradual improvement on the first, as appears both from the nature of the thing, and from the records of antiquity.*

These alterations in the manner of delineating hieroglyphic figures, produced and perfected another character, which hath been called the *running hand of hieroglyphics*, resembling the Chinese writing, which

* Lib. i. c. 65; Lib. ii. c. 16.

Many instances of this kind may be found in Horapollo, lib. i. c. 14 and 40. Plutarch Is. and Osir. Diod. Sic. lib. i.

having been first formed by the out-lines of each figure, became at length a kind of *marks*; the natural effects of which were, that the constant use of them, would take off the attention from the symbol, and fix it on the thing signified; by which means the study of symbolic writing would be much abbreviated, because the writer or decypherer, would have then little to do, but to remember the power of the symbolic mark: whereas before, the properties of the thing or animal delineated were to be learnt. This, together with their other marks by institution to design mental conceptions, would reduce the characters to the present state of the Chinese^e; and these were properly what the ancients call *hieroglyphical*. Doctor Robert Huntington, in his account of the Porphyry Pillars tells us, that there are yet some ancient monuments of this kind of writing remaining in Egypt.^f

Apuleius^h describes the sacred book, or ritual of the Egyptians (as partly written in *symbolic*, and partly in these *hieroglyphic* characters of arbitrary institution, resembling the Chinese) in the following manner. "He (the hierophant) drew out certain books from the secret repositories of the sanctuary, written in unknown characters, which contained the words of the sacred *formula* compendiously expressed, partly by FIGURES of animals, and partly by certain MARKS or *notes intricately knotted, revolving in the manner of a wheel*, and crowded together, and curled inward like the tendrils of a vine, so as to hide the meaning from the curiosity of the prophane." These hieroglyphic characters are mixed with the symbolic in the ritual of Apuleius, and in the Bembine tables, as likewise on several of the obelisks, where they are found mixed both with the *proper hieroglyphic* and with the *symbolic*.

That letters were of great antiquity among the Egyptians, may reason-

^e The inquisitive reader, by comparing Kircher's Account of Egyptian Hieroglyphics with those published by Purchas, will find that the former exactly resemble the Mexican, not only in their use, but, as Purchas (p. 69) and Diodorus Siculus (p. 124) say, in their forms and figures.

^f These arbitrary marks, or marks by in-

stitution, shall be further explained in the chapter on *Notæ*, or Short-hand. The notes of short-hand are marks for words, and the notes of hieroglyphics are marks for things.

^g See his Account of the Porphyry Pillars, Philosoph. Transact. N^o clxi. p. 624.

^h Metamorphosis, lib. ii. where he speaks of his initiation into the mysteries of Isis.

ably be supposed, because we have indubitable proofs of their early civilization; but there is strong evidence to induce us to believe they were not the first inventors of an alphabet.—Mr. Jackson,¹ with great learning endeavours to show, that letters were not invented or carried into Egypt by Taaut, or Thoth, the first Hermes and son of Misraim, who lived about five hundred years after the deluge: but that they were introduced into that country by the second Hermes, who lived about four hundred years after the former. This second Hermes is by Plato called Theuth, who also styles him Counsellor and Sacred Scribe to king Thamus. Diodorus relates, that this Egyptian Hermes was the inventor of grammar and music, and that he added many words to the Egyptian language: that he invented letters, rhythm, and harmony of sounds. This was the Hermes so greatly celebrated by the Greek writers, who knew no older Hermes than him.

Mr. Wise^k insists, that Moses and Cadmus could not learn the alphabet in Egypt; and that the Egyptians had no alphabet in their time. He adduces several reasons to prove that they had no alphabet till they received what is called *the Coptic*, which was introduced either in the time of the Ptolomeys, or earlier, under Psammitichus or Amasis; and these letters, which are the oldest alphabetic characters of the Egyptians that can now be produced, are plainly derived from the Greek. It seems to us, that if the Egyptians used letters before the time mentioned by Mr. Wise, they were probably the characters of their neighbours the Phœnicians.

Herodotus, the most ancient Greek historian, whose works have reached us,^l seems very sincere in his Egyptian history; for he ingenuously owns, that all he relates before the reign of Psammitichus^m is uncertain; and that he reports the early transactions of that nation on the credit of the Egyptian priests, on which he did not much depend.

¹ See Chronological Antiquities, vol. iii. p. 93—95.

^k See his Enquiries concerning the first inhabitants, language, &c. of Europe, p. 104—109.

^l He wrote his history in the first year of the eighty-fourth olympiad; three hundred

and ten after the foundation of Rome; and four hundred and forty-four before Christ.

^m He reigned about six hundred and sixty years before the christian æra. Syncellus informs us, that the Greeks had very little commerce with the Egyptians till the reign of this king.

Diodorus Siculus is also reported to have been greatly imposed upon by the priests in Egypt.

Manetho, the oldest Egyptian historian, translated out of the Egyptian into the Greek, the Sacred Registers of Egypt, which are said, by Syncellus, to have been written in the sacred letters, and to have been laid up by the SECOND Mercury in the Egyptian temples. This work was divided into three parts. The first, contained the history of the gods; the second, that of the demi-gods; the third, the dynasties, which ended in Nectanebus king of Egypt, who was driven out by Ochus, three hundred and fifty years before Christ. This author seems to have written his dynasties about two hundred and fifty-eight years before the christian æra, and, as Syncellus tells us,ⁿ about ten years after Berosus had written his Chaldean history.—Manetho allows the Egyptian gods to have been mortal men; but his history was very much corrupted by the Greeks, and hath been called in question by several writers, from the account which he himself gave of it.

The objections to Manetho's Chronology are well founded; for his number of *three thousand five hundred and fifty* years, belongs wholly to the successors of Menes, though he is more modest than many other writers of the Egyptian history.—Eusebius, in his Canon,^o omits the first sixteen dynasties of Manetho, and begins their chronology with the seventeenth.—After Cambyses had carried away the Egyptian records, the Egyptian priests, to supply their loss, and to keep up their pretensions to antiquity, began to write new records, wherein they not only unavoidably made great mistakes, but added much of their own invention, especially as to distant times.—Josephus, Plutarch, Porphyry, and Eusebius, speak well of Manetho. The curious fragments transcribed from him by Josephus, before his copies had been corrupted, seem to confirm the good opinion of these authors.

^{hy}
PHENICIANS.

We shall next consider the claim of the Phenicians to the invention of letters, as we have the strongest proofs of the early civilization of this people.—Sanconiatho of Berytus, the most ancient, as also the most celebrated Phenician historian, com-

ⁿ Chronograph. p. 18.

^o Chron. Græc. p. 89.

piled the Phenician history with great exactness, from the monuments and memoirs which he received from Jerobalus, priest, of the god Jaco, and from their registers, which, Josephus says,^f were carefully preserved in the inner parts of the temples; and in them were written the most memorable events, with regard to themselves and others^g

Philo of Byblus, a famous grammarian, who lived in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Trajan, and Adrian, translated Sanconiatho's history, out of the Phenician into the Greek tongue; and reduced it into eight books, but the original and the version are lost.—Eusebius who hath preserved several fragments of this history, gives the following account of it from Porphyry, who was a Phenician of Tyre, and excellently versed in all ancient learning. He says,^h that Sanconiatho of Berytus related, in his history, the Jewish affairs with great veracity:—that he dedicated his work to King Abibalus;ⁱ and his history was allowed to be true, both by the king, and by those who were appointed by him to examine it.

This most ancient prophane historian expressly relates, that letters were first invented in Phenicia, by Taaud, who lived in that country in the twelfth and thirteenth generations after the creation.¹ “*Misor was the son of Hamyn. The son of Misor was Taaud, who invented the first letters for writing.*” The Egyptians call him Thoth; the Alexandrians Thoyth, and the Greeks, Hermes, or Mercury.

^f See Josephus against Appion, book i.

^g See Eusebius Præparat. Evang. lib. i. c. 9. p. 30, &c.

^h King Abibalus began to reign one thousand seventy-three years before Christ; he was the father of Hiram, who was Solomon's ally.

ⁱ The genealogy of Taaud, as given by Sanconiatho:

- | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 PROTOGONUS, | 5 HYPsurANIUS, or MEMRUMUS, | 9 AGROVERUS, (NOAH), |
| 2 GENUS, | 6 AGREUS, | 10 AMYN, (HAMYN, or HAM), |
| 3 UR, PHOS, | 7 CHRYSOR, | 11 MISOR, or MISRAIM, |
| 4 CASSIUS, | 8 TECHNITES, | 12 TAAUD. |

This author makes mankind live in Phenicia; and places Hypsuranius at Tyre. The plan of the history is quite different from that of Moses, and seems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the first ages. Some writers have attempted to prove the works of this author spurious; but their argu-

ments are so frivolous that they scarcely deserve an answer.—See many curious particulars concerning the author and his writings, in the Univ. Hist. vol. i. preface, p. 10, and p. 23, 181, 184, 189, 303 to 320; vol. vi. p. 55; vol. xviii. p. 112, note D.—And Jackson's Chronol. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 5 to 37.

Sanconiatho is said to have derived his first books, of the Origin of Gods and Men, from writings ascribed to Taaut the first Hermites; he makes Protogonus the first man, and Æon (or Life) the first woman. Of Protogonus and Æon were begot two children, Genus and Genea, who dwelt in Phenicia, and in time of a drought, prayed to the Sun, and worshipped him, as the only God and Lord of heaven. From these two persons Taaut is lineally descended, as we have just mentioned (in note *); this author carries the worship of the Sun to the second man of human race. Philo observes, that the Greeks claimed most of Sanconiatho's history of the gods to themselves, to which they added many pleasing fables. Hence it was, saith he, that Hesiod, and the itinerary poets, sung about in their poems, generations of gods and battles of giants and Titans; and men being accustomed from their infancy to hear nothing but these fictions, which gained credit from long continuance, it was not easy to dispossess their minds of the belief of them. There is no doubt, but the Greeks received the history of the gods from the Phenicians and Egyptians, and applied them to their own either real or feigned heroes.

In the time of this Taaut or Hermès, Phenicia, and the adjacent country, was governed by Uranus; and, after him, by his son Saturn, or Cronus. He invented letters, saith Sanconiatho, either in the reign of Uranus, or Cronus; and staid in Phenicia, with Cronus, till the thirty-second year of his reign. Cronus, after the death of his father Uranus, made several settlements of his family,* and travelled into other parts and, when he came to the south country, he gave all Egypt to the god Taautus, that it should be his kingdom.

Sanconiatho began his history with the creation, and ended it with placing Taautus upon the throne of Egypt. He doth not mention the deluge, but he makes two more generations in Cain's line, from Protogonus to Agroverus (or from Adam to Noah) than Moses.

As Sanconiatho has not told us in what reign, whether of Uranus or

* "Out of Phenicia," (says Mons. Bochart, in his learned work, intituled, *Canaan*), "issued a vast number of tribes, who settled themselves in all parts of the world, in

"Egypt, Asia, Cyprus, the Isles of the Mediterranean, Sicily, Sardinia, the African coast, Spain, and several other countries."

Cronu^s, Taa^ut invented letters; he might have invented them in either reign; "and we cannot err much," says Mr. Jackson, (in his Chronol. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 94), "if we place his invention of them five hundred " and fifty years after the flood, or twenty years after the dispersion; " and two thousand six hundred and nineteen years before the christian " æra; and six, or perhaps ten years, before he went into Egypt." ^b—Taa^ut, and his posterity, for fifteen generations, ruled in the Upper Egypt, at Thebes, which was built by the Mezrites.

That letters were invented in Phenicia, doth not depend solely upon the testimony of Sanconiatho; for several Roman authors attribute their invention to the Phenicians.—Pliny says, the Phenicians were famed for the invention of letters, as well as for astronomical observations, and naval and martial arts.—Curtius says, that the Tyrian nation are related to be the first, who either taught or learned letters; ^d and Lucan says, the Phenicians were the first who attempted to express sounds (or words) by letters. To these authorities may be added that of Eusebius, ^e who tells us, from Porphyry, that "Sanconiatho studied with great application the writings of Taa^ut, knowing that he was the first who invented " letters:" and on these he laid the foundation of his history.

It is observable, that the Greek writers seem to have known no older Hermes than the second Hermes or Mercury, who is recorded to have lived about four hundred years after the Mezrite Taa^ut or Hermes; which second Hermes, Plato calls Theuth, and counsellor and sacred scribe to king Tham^us, but it is not said that he ever reigned in Egypt: whereas the Mezrite Taa^ut, or Athothes, as Manetho calls him, was the immediate successor of Menes, the first king of Egypt. The second Mercury, if we believe Manetho, composed several books of the Egyptian history, and many incredible things are attributed to him; who being more known, and more famous in Egypt than the Mezrite Hermes, and having

^b The author is mistaken in his calculation, as will presently appear by our remarks.

^c Ipsa gens Phœnicum in gloriâ magna literarum inventiois et siderum, navaliumque ac bellicarum artium. Nat. Hist. lib. v. c. 12.

^d Si famæ libet credere hæc (Tyriorum)

gens literas prima aut docuit, aut didicit, lib. vi. c. 4.

^e Phœnices primi, famæ si creditur ausi. Mansura rudibus vocem signare figuris, lib. iii. v. 220, 221.

^f De abstinent. lib. ii. sect. 56.

improved both their language and letters, the Egyptians attributed the arts and inventions of the former, to him.^e

The Phenician language has been generally allowed to be, at least a dialect of the Hebrew; and though their alphabet doth not intirely agree with the Samaritan, yet it will hereafter appear, that there is a great similarity between them.^b Arithmetic and astronomy were much cultivated by them, in the most early ages.^c Their fine linen, their purple, and their glass, were superior to those of any other people; and their extraordinary skill in architecture and other arts, was such, that whatever was great, elegant, or pleasing, whether in buildings, apparel, vessels, or toys, were distinguished by the epithet of *Tyrian* or *Sidonian*.^d

The Sidonians or Phenicians were the first people who ventured out to sea in ships;^e they were the greatest commercial people of all antiquity, and engrossed all the commerce of the western world. This very early and high degree of civilization, justly entitles them to urge the strongest pretensions to the first use of alphabetic characters.^f

^e Concerning this second Hermes, see Du Pin's Universal Historical Library, vol. i. p. 34 and 52; and Jackson's Chronol. Antiq. vol. iii. p. 94.

^b They had circumcision, as well as other customs, in common with the Hebrews, saith Herodotus.

^c They were from the beginning, as it were, addicted to philosophical exercises of the mind; insomuch that a Sidonian, by name Moeris, is said to have taught the doctrine of Atoms, before the Trojan war; and Abdomenus of Tyre, challenged Solomon, though the wisest king upon earth, by the subtle questions he proposed to him. Phenicia continued to be one of the seats of learning; and both Tyre and Sidon produced their philosophers of later ages; Boethus and Diodatus of Sidon, Antipater of Tyre, and Apollonius of the same place, gave an account of the writings and disciples of Zeno. Universal Hist. vol. ii. p. 346.

^d Tyre and Sidon were the principal cities in Phenicia.—See the treaty which king Solo-

mon entered into with Hiram king of Tyre, for artificers, as it is recorded in 2 Chron. chap. ii. v. 7—16. Hiram began to reign in the one thousand three hundred and twenty-ninth year after the deluge, and one thousand and twenty years before the christian æra. Solomon also contracted with king Hiram, for ships to bring gold and precious stones for ornamenting his buildings. 2 Chron. v. 18; and chap. ix. v. 10 and 18.

^e Sanconiatho says, That the Phenicians made ships of burden in which they sailed in the time of Saturn, or Cronus. And Dionysius says, the Phenicians were the first who ventured to sea in ships. Perieg. v. 907.

^f The learned authors of the Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie, not only corroborate but illustrate this opinion.—Enfin, tout dépose exclusivement en faveur de l'antiquité de la langue Phénicienne. Par la *Phénicie* on n'entend pas seulement les villes de la côte maritime de la Palestine, mais de plus la Judée & les pays des Chananéens & des Hébreux. Hérodote lui-même, lib. ii. col. 104, par les Phe-

CHALDEANS. With respect to the claim of the Chaldeans, the Jews, Arabians, and Indians, have it by tradition, that the Egyptians were instructed in all their knowledge by Abraham, who was a Chaldean. These traditions deserve, at least, as much credit as any traditions of the Egyptians, however credited and adopted by the Greeks; because they are, in some degree, confirmed by most of the western writers, who ascribe the inventions of arithmetic and astronomy to the Chaldeans.* Josephus, lib. i. cap. 9. is very express that the Egyptians were ignorant of the sciences of arithmetic and astronomy before they were instructed by Abraham; and it is probable that the relation of the Jewish historian, may have induced many succeeding writers to attribute the invention of letters to that celebrated patriarch.† Sir Isaac Newton admits that letters were known in the Abrahamic line for some centuries before Moses.

Though the cosmogony of the Chaldeans and Babylonians is deeply involved in fables, as is the case with all ancient nations, yet they evince that they cultivated the sciences in the most remote times.

The Chaldaic letters are derived from the ancient Hebrew, or Sama-

niciens désignoit évidemment les Hébreux ou les Juifs, puisque, selon lui, les Phéniciens se faisoient circoncire, & que les Tyriens, les Sidoniens, &c. n'étoient point dans cet usage. Par écriture Phénicienne; on entend donc, la Samaritaine, c'est-à-dire l'ancien Hébreu, *Souciet, Dissertation sur les Medailles Hébraïque, p. 4*; différent de l'Hébreu quarré ou Chaldaïque, qui est le moderne, que les Juifs ont adopté depuis la captivité de Babylone, ainsi que l'ont pensée S. Jérôme, S. Irénée, S. Clément d'Alexandrie, &c. &c.

Les auteurs qui adjugent l'antiquité à l'écriture Samaritaine, sont sans nombre. Gencbrard, Bellarmin, le Pere Morin, M. Huet, Dom. Montfaucon, Dom. Calmet, M. Renaudot, Joseph Scaliger, Grotius, Casaubon, Walton, Bochart, Vossius, Prideaux, Capelle, Sifmon, &c. &c. se sont hautement déclarés en faveur en ce sentiment; & ils sont appuyés

sur les Auteurs anciens & sur l'analogie des caracteres Samaritains avec les caracteres Grecs; ressemblance nécessaire pour obtenir la gloire de l'antiquité puisque les derniers se perdent dans la nuit des temps, & que cependant ce n'est point eux qui les ont inventés.

En combinant la descente des lettres, il en résultera beaucoup de jour sur ce système, & un nouvel appui pour le dernier sentiment. Dict. Dipl. tom. i. p. 416.

* After the flood, all mankind lived together in Chaldea, till the days of Peleg. See Univ. Hist. vol. iv. p. 332, 375; and Sir Isaac Newton's Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms, London, 1728, 4to. The tower of Babel, and the city of Babylon, were in the province which is now called *Erica Arabic*.

† Abraham did not retire from Ur, in Chaldea, to settle at Haran in Canaan, till he was upwards of seventy years old.

ritan, which are the same, or nearly so, with the old Phenician.^p The prophet Ezra is supposed to have exchanged the old Hebrew characters, for the more beautiful and commodious Chaldee, which are still in use.

Berosus, the most ancient Chaldean historian, was born (as he tells us himself) during the minority of Alexander the great; he wrote in three books, the Chaldean and Babylonish history, which comprehended that of the Medes. He is allowed to have been a very respectable writer, but he does not mention that he believed the Chaldeans to have been the inventors of letters.^q

SYRIANS. Let us briefly examine the pretensions of some other nations to the early use of letters.—The next nation that claims attention is the Syrian. The language of the Syrians is mentioned in the Universal History, vol. i. p. 347, 348; and was a distinct tongue in the days of Jacob. It was also the language of Mesopotamia and Chaldea.—As to the arts and learning of the Syrians, they were by some anciently joined with the Phenicians, as the first inventors of letters; but, without entering into this matter, certain it is, that they yielded to no nation in human knowledge and skill in the fine arts. From their happy situation they may almost be said to have been in the centre of the old world; and, in the zenith of their empire, they enriched themselves with the spoils, tribute, and commerce, of the nations far and near, and arose to a great pitch of splendour and magnificence, which are the chief encouragers of ingenuity and industry. Their language is pretended to have been the vernacular of all the oriental tongues, which was divided into three dialects: First, the Aramean, used in Mesopotamia, and by the inhabitants of Roha, or Edesa, of Harram, and the Outer Syria: Secondly, the dialect of Palestine, spoken by the inhabitants of Damascus, Mount Libanus, and the Inner Syria: Thirdly, the Chaldee or

^p Univ. Hist. vol. iii. p. 217.

^q See an account of him and his works in the Univ. Hist. vol. i. pref. p. 13, and p. 29, 30; and the substance of the fragments of

his history that are still remaining, at p. 192—195.

^r The altar at Damascus, which so ravished Ahaz king of Judah, serves as a noble specimen of the skill of their artificers.

Nabathean dialect, the most unpolished of the three, and spoken in the mountainous parts of Assyria, and the villages of Irac, or Babylonia.

It hath been a received opinion, that no nation of equal antiquity had a more considerable trade than the ancient Syrians. They had many valuable commodities of their own to carry into other parts; and, by their vicinity to the river Euphrates, it is evident that they traded with the eastern nations upon that river very early. The easy and safe navigation of the Euphrates, when compared with that of the sea, may incline us to consider them, as older merchants than the Edomites, or even the Phenicians, who confessedly ingrossed the trade of the western world. The Syrians therefore are supposed to have been the first people who brought the Persian and Indian commodities into the west of Asia. It seems therefore that the Syrians carried on an inland trade, by engrossing the commerce of the Euphrates; whilst the Phenicians traded to the most distant countries.

Notwithstanding the above circumstances, which may seem to favour the claim of the Syrians, the oldest characters or letters of that nation that are at present known, are but about three centuries before the birth of Christ. Their letters are of two sorts: the *Estrangelo*, which is the more ancient; and that called the *Fshito*, the simple or common character, which is more expeditious and beautiful.

INDIANS. The period of time is happily arrived, when the study of oriental literature is not only become useful, but fashionable. The learned sir William Jones greatly facilitated the attainment of the knowledge of the Persian language; Mr. Richardson that of the Arabic; and doctor Wolde, the Egyptian and the Coptic; by the publication of their respective grammars. Mr. Halhed, the editor of a work intitled the *Gentoo Laws*, hath written a grammar of the Shanscrit language, which he informs us, is not only the grand source of Indian literature, but the parent of almost every dialect from the Persian gulph to the Chinese

* See these characters in the Univ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 294.

† This ingenious gentleman, assisted by Mr. Wilkins, a descendant of the learned bishop

of that name, not only formed the types of the Gentoo alphabet, but printed this grammar at Hoogly, in Bengal, 4to. 1778.

seas, and is a language of the most venerable antiquity; and, although at present shut up in the libraries of Bramins, and appropriated solely to the records of their religion, appears to have been once current over most of the oriental world, as traces of its original extent may still be discovered, in almost every district of Asia.

“There is,” says Mr. Halhed, “a great similarity between the Shanscrit words and those of the Persian and Arabick, and even of Latin and Greek; and these, not in technical and metaphorical terms, which the mutation of refined arts and improved manners might have occasionally introduced, but in the main ground-works of language; in monosyllables, in the names of numbers, and the appellations of such things as would be first discriminated, on the immediate dawn of civilization. The resemblance which may be observed in the characters upon the medals and signets of various districts of Asia, the light which they reciprocally reflect upon each other, and the general analogy which they all bear to the grand prototype, affords another ample field for curiosity.

“The coins of Assam, Napaul, Cashmiria, and many other kingdoms, are all stampd with Shanscrit letters, and mostly contain allusions to the old Shanscrit mythology. The same conformity I have observed on the impressions of seals from Bootan and Thibet.”

That part of Asia between the Indus and the Ganges, still preserves the Shanscrit language pure and inviolate, and offers a great number of books to the perusal of the curious, many of which have been religiously handed down from the earliest period of their civilization.

There are seven different sorts of Indian hand-writings, all comprised under the general term of *Naagoree*, which may be interpreted writing. The elegant Shanscrit is stiled *Daeb-naagoree*, or the writing of the immortals; which may not improbably be a refinement from the more simple *Naagoree* of the earliest ages. The Bengal letters are another branch of the same stock. The Bengalise Bramins have all their Shanscrit books copied in this national alphabet; and they transpose into them all the *Daeb-naagoree* mss. for their own perusal. The dialect

called by us the Moorish, is that species of Hindostanic which owes its existence to the Mahometan conquests.

There are about seven hundred radical words in the Shanscrit language; the fundamental part of which is divided into three classes.

First, Dhaat — or roots of verbs.

Second, Shubd — or original nouns.

Third, Evya — or particles.

The Shanscrit alphabet contains fifty letters; viz. thirty-four consonants, and sixteen vowels. The Indian Bramins contend, that they had letters before any other people; and Mr. Halhed observes, that sufficient grounds still exist for conjecturing, that Egypt has but a disputable claim to its long boasted originality in civilization. The present learned Rajah of Kishinagur affirms, that he has in his possession Shanscrit books, where the Egyptians are constantly described as disciples, not as instructors, and as seeking that liberal education, and those sciences in Hindostan, which none of their own countrymen had sufficient knowledge to impart. Mr. Halhed hints, that the learning of Hindostan might have been transplanted into Egypt, and thus have become familiar to Moses.^c However this may be, several authors agree in opinion, that the ancient Egyptians possessed themselves of the trade of the East by the Red Sea; and that they carried on a considerable traffic with the Indian nations before the time of Sesostris, who was contemporary with Abraham.^d—The *Red Sea* was called by the ancients the *Indian Sea*; and they usually denominated the Ethiopians, and the rest of the nations under the torrid zone, *Indians*.^e

A translation of an Indian book called Bagavadam, one of the eighteen Pouranam, or sacred books of the Gentoos, hath lately been published in France. This translation was made by Meridas Poullé, a learned man of Indian origin, and chief interpreter to the supreme council of Pondicherry; and was sent by him to M. Bertin, his protector, in 1769. This Bagavadam, or divine history, claims an antiquity of

^c Preface to Gentoo Laws, p. 44.

^d Rollin's Hist. p. 59, 60; and Universal Hist. vol. i. p. 513.

^e Preface to Gentoo Laws, p. 44.

above five thousand years. Mons. Poullè tells us, in his preface, that the book was composed by Viasser, the son of Brahma, and is of sacred authority amongst the worshippers of Vischnow. The language of the original text is Shanscrit, but the translation was made from a version in *Tamoul*.

There are several traditions and relations of the Indians calculated to ascertain the antiquity of this book, and they all tend to date its composition three thousand one hundred and sixteen years before the christian æra: but Mons. De Guines^f hath not only invalidated these traditions, but proves also, that the pretensions of this book to such a remote antiquity are inconclusive and unsatisfactory. Hence we may conclude, that though a further inquiry into the literature of the Indian nations may be laudable, yet we must by no means give too easy credit to their relations concerning the high antiquity of their manuscripts, and early civilization.

PERSIANS. The Persians had no great learning among them till the time of Hystaspes, the father of the emperor Darius Hystaspes. The former, we are told, travelled into India, and was instructed in the sciences by the Bramins, for which they were at that time famed.^g The ancient Persians contemned riches, and were strangers to commerce; they had no money amongst them, till after the conquest of Lydia.^h It appears by several inscriptions taken from the ruins of the palace of Persepolis, which was built near seven hundred years before the christian æra, that the Persians sometimes wrote in perpendicular columns, after the manner of the Chinese. This mode of writing was first used upon the stems of trees, or pillars, or obelisks. As for those *simple* characters found upon the west side of the staircase at Persepolis, some authors have supposed them to be alphabetic; others, hieroglyphic; whilst others have asserted them to be ante-diluvian: but our learned doctor Hyde pronounces them to have been mere whimsical ornaments, though

^f See his reflections on this book, published in the 38th vol. of the *Histoire de l'Académie Royal*, &c. Paris, 1777.

^g Univ. Hist. vol. v. p. 130.

^h Ibid. p. 131.

a late writer¹ supposes they may be fragments of Egyptian antiquity, taken by Cambyzes from the spoils of Thèbes. In the second volume of Niebuhr's Travels in Arabia, p. 25, several of the inscriptions at Persepolis are engraven. This author says, that they furnish three different alphabets, which have long been disused. They are certainly alphabetic, and not hieroglyphic or mere ornaments, as some writers have supposed. In fine, the learned seem generally agreed, that the ancient Persians were later than many of their neighbours in civilization: it was never pretended that they were the inventors of letters.

ARABIANS. The Arabs have inhabited the country they at present possess, for upwards of three thousand seven hundred years, without having intermixt with other nations, or being subjugated by any foreign power. Their language must be very ancient. The two principal dialects of it, were those spoken by the Hamyarites, and other genuine Arabs; and that of the Koreish, in which Mahammed wrote the Koran. The first is stiled by the oriental writers, *the Arabic of Hamyar*; and the other, *the pure, or deficated*.—Mr. Richardson, in his Arabic Grammar, observes, as a proof of the richness of this language, that it consists of two thousand radical words.

The old Arabic characters are said to be of very high antiquity; for Ebn Hashem relates, that an inscription in it was found in Yaman, as old as the time of Joseph. These traditions may have given occasion to some authors to suppose the Arabians to have been the inventors of letters; and Sir Isaac Newton¹ supposes, that Moses learned the alphabet from the Midianites, who were Arabians.

The Arabian alphabet consists of twenty-eight letters, which are somewhat similar to the ancient Kufic, in which characters the first copies of the Alcoran were written.

The present Arabic characters were formed by Ebn Moklah, a learned Arabian, who lived about three hundred years after Mahomet. We learn from the Arabian writers themselves, that their alphabet is not

¹ The author of Conjectural Observations on Alphabetic Writing.

See some remarks upon the old Persic letters in the Universal History, vol. xviii. p. 399.

¹ Chronology of Egypt, p. 205, 8vo. edit.

ancient.—Al. Asmahi says, that the Koreish were asked, “From whom did you learn writing?” and, that they answered, “From Hirah.” That the people of Hirah were asked, “From whom did you learn writing?” and they said, “From the Anbarites.”—Ebn Al. Habli and Al. Heisham Ebn Admi relate, that Abi Sofian, Mahomet’s great opposer, was asked, “From whom did your father receive this form of writing?” and that he said, “From Ashlam Ebn Sidrah:” and, that Ashlam being asked, “From whom did you receive writing?” his answer was, “From the person that invented it, Moramer Ebn Morrah;” and that they received this form of writing but a little before Islamism.*

OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS.

Before we conclude, we shall make a few reflections on the foregoing claims of different nations to the invention of letters. The vanity of each nation induces them to pretend to the most early civilization; but such is the uncertainty of ancient history, that it is difficult to decide to whom the honour is due. It however should seem, from what hath been advanced in the course of this part of our inquiry, that the contest may be confined to the Egyptians, the Phenicians, and the Chaldeans. The Greek writers, and most of those who have copied them, decide in favour of Egypt, because their information is derived from the Egyptians themselves. The positive claim of the Phenicians, doth not depend upon the sole testimony of Sanconiatho; the credit of his history is so well supported by Philo of Biblus his translator, Porphyry, Pliny, Curtius, Lucan, and other ancient authors, who might have seen his works intire, and whose relations deserve at least as much credit as those of the Egyptian and Greek writers. It must be allowed, that Sanconiatho’s history contains many fabulous traditions; but does not the ancient history of the Egyptians, the Greeks, and most other nations, abound with them to a much greater degree? The fragments which we have of this most ancient historian, are chiefly furnished by Eusebius, who took all possible advantages to represent the Pagan writers in the worst light, and to render their theology absurd and ridiculous.

* Wise on the first inhabitants, &c. of Europe, p. 99.

Cicero^d distinguishes five Mercuries, two of which are Egyptian. Authors are much divided as to the ages in which they lived, but the most ancient is generally allowed to be the Phenician Taaut, who passed from thence to Egypt. It is probable that he might teach the Egyptians the use of letters; and that the second Taaut, Mercury, or Hermes Trismegistus, improved both the alphabet and language, as Diodorus and others have asserted. The Phenician and Egyptian languages are very similar, but the latter is said to be more large and full, which is an indication of its being of later date.

The opinion of Mr. Wise, that the ancient Egyptians had not the knowledge of letters, seems to be erroneous: as they had commercial intercourse with their neighbours the Phenicians, they probably had the knowledge of letters, if their policy (like that of the Chinese at this day) did not prohibit the use of them.

The Chaldeans, who cultivated astronomy in the most remote ages, used *symbols*, or *arbitrary marks*, in their calculations; and we have shewn that these were *the parents of letters*. This circumstance greatly favours their claim to the invention, because Chaldea, and the countries adjacent, are allowed by all authors, both sacred and prophane, to have been peopled before Egypt; and it is certain that many whole nations, recorded to be descended from Shem and Japhet, had their letters from the Phenicians, who were descended from Ham.*

It is observable, that the Chaldeans, the Syrians, the Phenicians, and Egyptians, all bordered upon each other; and as the Phenicians were the greatest, as well as the most ancient commercial nation, it is very probable, that they communicated letters to the Egyptians, the ports of Tyre and Sidon, and those of the Egyptians, being not far distant from each other.

Mr. Jackson is evidently mistaken, when he says, that letters were invented two thousand six hundred and nineteen years before the birth of Christ. The deluge, recorded by Moses, was two thousand three

^d De Nat. Deor. lib. iii.

* Misraim, the son of Ham, led colonies into Egypt, and laid the foundation of a king-

dom, which lasted one thousand six hundred and sixty-three years; whence Egypt is, in the Holy Scriptures, called the land of Ham.

hundred and forty-nine years before that event; and if letters were not invented till five hundred and fifty years after, as he asserts, we must date their discovery only one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine years before the christian æra, which is four hundred and ten years after the reign of Menes, the first king of Egypt, who (according to Geo. Syncellus and others) is said to have been the same person with the *Misor* of Sanconiatho, the *Mizraim* of the Scriptures, and the *Osiris* of the Egyptians; but whether this be true or not, Egypt is frequently called in the Scriptures, the land of Mizraim.^f

This Mizraim, the second son of Amyn or Ham, seated himself near the entrance of Egypt at Zoan, in the year before Christ two thousand one hundred and eighty-eight, and one hundred and sixty years after the flood; he afterwards built Thebes, and some say Memphis. He is by Herodotus, by Diodorus, Eratosthenes, and Africanus, by Eusebius and Syncellus, called *Menes*.^g

Before the time that Mizraim went into Egypt, Taaut his son had invented letters in Phenicia; and if this invention took place ten years before the migration of his father into Egypt, as Mr. Jackson supposes, we can trace letters as far back, as the year two thousand one hundred and seventy-eight before Christ, and one hundred and fifty after the deluge recorded by Moses; and beyond this period, the written annals of mankind, which have been hitherto transmitted to us, will not enable us to trace the knowledge of them, though this want of materials is no proof, that letters were not known, until a century and a half after the deluge.

As for the pretensions of the Indian nations, we must be better acquainted with their records, before we can admit of their claim to the first use of letters; especially as none of their mss. of great antiquity have as yet appeared in Europe. That the Arabians were not the inventors of letters, hath appeared by the confession of their own authors.

Plato somewhere mentions Hyperborean letters, very different from

^f Universal History, vol. v. p. 390.

^g These authors say he went into Egypt twenty-one years sooner; but this account

agrees best with the Scriptures. See Stackhouse's Hist. of the Bible, p. 203.—Univ. Hist. vol. xxi. p. 3.

the Greek; these might have been the characters used by the Tartars, or ancient Scythians.

ANTE-DILUVIAN WRITING. It may be expected, that something should be said concerning those books, mentioned by some authors to have been written before the deluge;^h but as Moses is silent upon the subject, we have no materials that will enable us to form an opinion. St. Jude, in his Epistle, v. 14, tells us, that Enoch *prophesied*; but this apostle might quote a Jewish tradition, for he does not say that Enoch *wrote*. The tales which have been told us concerning the books of this patriarch, are too absurd to deserve serious attention. With respect therefore to *Writings* attributed to the ante-diluvians, it seems not only decent but rational, to say, that we know nothing concerning them; though it might be improper to assert, that letters were unknown before the deluge recorded by Moses.

As for the pillars, mentioned by Josephus to have been erected by the sons of Seth, whercon they wrote their invented sciences, we agree with the learned abbot of Claraval, that the bare reading of Josephus, is all that is requisite to prove them imaginary.

Upon the whole, it appears to us, that the Phenicians have the best claim to the honour of the invention of letters.

^h Amongst others, Dr. Parsons, who supposes that letters were known to Adam.—Remains of Japhet, p. 346, 359.—The Sabæans produce a book which they pretend was written by Adam. Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 720, fol. edit.

ⁱ Origen reports, that certain books of Enoch were found in Arabia Felix, in the dominion of the queen of Saba. Tertullian roundly affirms, that he saw and read several pages of them; and, in his Treatise de Habitu

Mulierum, he places these books among the canonical: but St. Jerome and St. Austin look upon them as apocryphal. William Postellus pretended to compile his works, De Originibus, from the book of Enoch. Thomas Bangius published, at Copenhagen, in 1657, a work which contains many singular relations, concerning the manner of writing among the Ante-diluvians, wherein is contained several pleasant tales concerning the books of Enoch.

CHAP. IV.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF ALPHABETS.

ALL ALPHABETS NOT DERIVED FROM ONE — ALPHABETS DERIVED FROM THE PHENICIAN.

WE cannot agree in opinion with those who have asserted that all alphabets are derived from *one*, because there are a variety of alphabets used in different parts of Asia, which differ from the Phenician, ancient Hebrew or Samaritan, in name, number, figure, order, and power. In several of these alphabets, there are marks for sounds, peculiar to the languages of the east, which are not necessary to be employed in the notation of the languages of Europe.

Nicbuhr has given several of these alphabets in the second volume of his Travels in Arabia. That marked *A* is the alphabet of the Banians in the province of Guzurat, which consist of 34 characters.

B the alphabet of the Indians Multani Ben Penjah, which contains 30 letters.

C is written by a native of Devuli. This alphabet contains 31 letters.

D, E, alphabets of the *Parsis*, or Worshippers of Fire; *D* hath 25 letters, *E* 44.

F the alphabet of the Sabceans. Many other oriental alphabets are engraven in the Encyclopedia, tom. ii. of the plates, Paris, 1763.

The characters and alphabets of all the countries east of Persia, have no connection with, or relation to, the Phenician or its derivatives, except only where the conquests of the Mahommedans have introduced the use of the Arabic letters. The Shanscrit characters* are the prototype of the letters used in India; namely, of the *sacred characters* of

* Shanscrit or Sungskrit, means something brought to perfection, in contradistinction to Prakrit, or something vulgar and unpolished; hence the fine, learned, religious language and

characters of India, are termed Sungskrit, and the illiterate idioms of the common people Prakrit.

Thibet, the Cashmirian, Bengalese, Malabaric and Tumoul; the Singalese, the Siamese, the Maharattan, the Concanee, &c. The Tangutic or Tartar characters, and the Shanscrit, seem to have proceeded from the same source, as they are similar in their great outlines; but whether the former is derived from the latter, or the latter from the former, is not easy to determine.

In the Sloanian library, N° 2836, and 2837, are eight rolls, said to have been found by the Muscovites beyond Siberia, in the south-east parts of Tartary, written in the *sacred* characters of Thibet, or Tartary. They are written on blue paper, some in letters of gold and some of silver. N° 2838 in the same library, is a roll of blue paper, found as above, written in *common* Tartar characters, of a gold colour; and N° 2835, contains six rolls of the same kind; the paper is white, and the characters are black. It is observable, that the common Tartar is generally read from top to bottom.

There are several alphabets used in different parts of Asia, which are intirely different not only from the Shanscrit, and all those proceeding from that source, but also from the Phenician, and all its derivatives: we shall point out some of them.

There is in my library a ms. in the Pegu language, on palm leaves, twenty-one inches long, and three and an half wide; the ground is of gold, richly ornamented; the letters are made of a glutinous substance, like black japan. In the Sloanian library, N° 4849, is a ms. on the same materials, and in similar characters. In the same library, N° 4726, is a ms. on bark, written in perpendicular columns, in the *Batta characters*, which are used in the island of *Sumatra*: a ms. written in similar characters, was in the library of the late Dr. Fothergill.—In the Sloanian library, N° 4098, is a specimen of the Barman or Boman characters, which are used in some parts of Pegu; but they are very different from any of those above mentioned. More instances might be adduced, in proof of what hath been advanced on this head; which we presume is unnecessary. The names and powers of the letters, of which these alphabets are composed, are intirely different from the Phenician, or those derived from them, and to assimilate their *forms* is impossible; indeed it is not easy to conceive, that the fifty Shanscrit letters, could

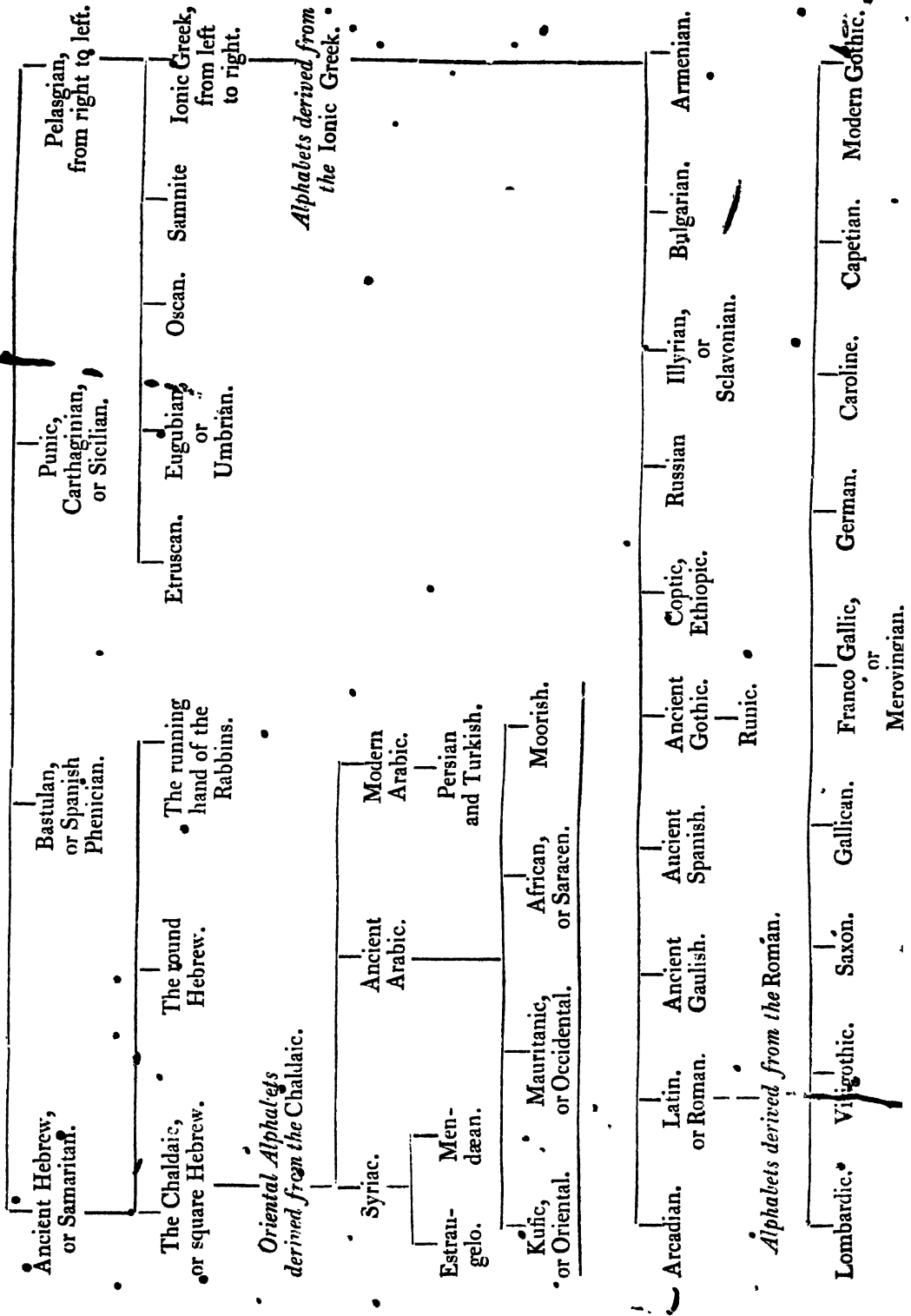
be taken from the alphabet of the Phenicians, which originally consisted of thirteen characters. It is more liberal, as well as more rational, to suppose, that different men at different times thought of making marks for *sounds*, instead of marks for *things*;^b but notwithstanding this opinion, it is certain, that by far the greater part of the alphabets, now used in different parts of the globe, are derived from the Phenician, ancient Hebrew, or Samaritan.

Having first found letters among the Phenicians, we shall, in the course of the present chapter, inquire what alphabets are derived from that source. This inquiry will furnish our readers with several important facts, relative to the population and civilization of the most celebrated nations; and will give them an historical account of the progress of learning, and of writing, in a more clear and concise manner than could have been done, if we had entered into the history of writing, and the consideration of the *forms of letters*, at the same time.

The following alphabets seem to be immediately derived from the Phenician; namely, the ancient *Hebrew*, or *Samaritan*, the *Chaldaic*, the *Bastulan*, the *Punic*, *Carthaginian*, or *Sicilian*, the *Pelasgian Greek* and its derivatives, which are written in the eastern manner, from right to left, and the *Ionic Greek*, written from left to right. This last mentioned branch from the Pelasgic stock, is the source from whence, not only most of the alphabets of Europe are derived, but also of many others which have been adopted in different parts of Asia and Africa.

^b Univ. Hist. vol. i. p. 22. We shall illustrate these observations in the course of the next chapter, where we shall speak particularly of the forms of letters.

ALPHABETS DERIVED FROM THE PHENICIAN.



The *Chaldaic* may be divided into the square Hebrew, the round Hebrew, and the more modern, or running hand Hebrew of the Rabbins. The alphabets derived from the Chaldaic, are the *Syriac*, *Estrangelo*, and *Mandaean*,^c the ancient and the modern *Arabic*. From the ancient Arabic alphabet, are derived those of the *Kufic*, the *Mauritanic*, the *African* or *Saracen*, and the *Moorish*: the Persian and Turkish are generally allowed to have been derived from the modern Arabic, though authors are not intircly agreed as to the derivation of the former.

The Bastuli were one of those colonies of Phenicians or 'Canaanites, who settled themselves, in the most early ages, in that part of Spain now called Andalusia and Grenada; they first began to settle near the Streights of Gibraltar, and their principal port was Cadiz: these people were conquered by the Moors in the eighth century.

The Punic letters are called Tyrian, and are much the same as the Carthaginian or Sicilian; they were an early branch from the Phenician stock: to make a complete Punic, Carthaginian, or Sicilian alphabet, we must admit several pure Phenician letters.^e The *Pelasgi* were of Phenician original; we learn from Sanconiatho, that the sons of the Dioseuri and Cabiri wrote the first annals of the Phenician history, by the command of *Taaut*, the first inventor of letters. These men made ships of burthen, and being cast upon the coast near Mount Casius, about forty miles from Pelusium, they built a temple:^f this event happened in the second generation after the deluge recorded by Moses.

These Phenicians were called Pelasgi, from their passing by sea, and wandering from one country to another.^g We learn from Herodotus, that

^c The *Estrangelo* characters are descended from the ancient Syriac; some have supposed that the Bramin characters are derived from them, and that they were introduced into India in the time of Jenghiz-Khan; but letters were known in India long before the reign of that prince, and these suppositions are not supported by proofs.

^d Whether we call them Phenicians or Canaanites, is of little consequence, as far as concerns our subject; they were the same people. The Bastuli, were said to have fled from Joshua.

^e The Punic language was at first the same with the Phenician, it is nearly allied to the Hebrew, and hath an affinity to the Chaldee and Syriac: there are some remains of it in the present Maltese.—Univ. Hist. vol. xvii. p. 295.

^f This was the temple of Jupiter Casius, and is perhaps the first temple mentioned in history. Strabo, Pliny, and Stephens, speak of it.

^g Whence, as some say, the sea is called Pelagus from the Hebrew word Peleg, as dividing one country from another. The modern Greeks fancied they derived their name

the *Pelasgi* were the descendants of the Phenician *Cabiri*, and that the Samothracians received and practised the Cabiric mysteries from the *Pelasgi*, who, in ancient times, inhabited Samothrace.^b

The Phenician *Pelasgi* settled colonies in several islands of the *Ægean* sea; as Samothrace, Lemnos, Thessaly,^c all the old Hellas, Argolis, Arcadia, and also the sea coast of the Peloponnese.^k

In the reign of Deucalion, about eight hundred and twenty years after the deluge, and one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine before the christian æra, the *Pelasgi* were driven from Thessaly or *Ænotria* by the *Hellenes*; some of them settled at the mouth of the *Po*, and the rest at *Crotôn*, now *Cortona*, in Tuscany.

The *Pelasgic* alphabet, which prevailed in Greece before the age of Deucalion, consisted of sixteen letters. The *Tyrrhenian* alphabet, first brought into Italy, preceded the reign of that prince, and it consisted of thirteen letters only.

In order to prove this fact, it is incumbent on us to shew, that the *Tyrrheni*, *Tyrseni*, or *Etrusci*, settled in Italy long before the reign of Deucalion.

Herodotus relates, that a colony went by sea from *Lydia* into *Italy*, under *Tyrrhenus*:^l and Dion. Halicarnassensis proves, that many authors called them *Pelasgi*. He particularly cites Hellanicus Lesbicus, who was somewhat older than Herodotus, to prove that they were first called *Pelasgi Tyrrheni*; after they began to inhabit Italy, they settled in that

from *Pelasgus*, the pretended founder of the *Arcadians*; we think the name is not derived from *Pelcg*, as some have imagined, for his posterity never went into Europe. The *Pelasgi* were so called from the word *πελαγιοι*, wanderers by sea. •

^b Herodot. (lib. ii. c. 51) and Strabo say, the *Cabiri*, i. e. their descendants, inhabited Samothrace. Georg. lib. x. p. 723, 724.

^c They made one of their first settlements in Thessaly, as all writers agree, one part of which was called *Pelasgiotis* from them, and also *Pelasgia*.

^k The old Hellas was called from them *Pe-*

lasgia, as Strabo informs us, lib. v. p. 237. The same author says, that a part of Thessaly was called *Pelasgian Argos*, and so Homer calls it. Iliad. ii. Pliny tells us, that *Ænotria*, which was the old name of Thessaly, was called *Pelasgicum Argos*. Strabo likewise relates, that the *Pelasgi* inhabited *Argos* in Peloponnesus, and that the whole country was called *Pelasgia* from them. Georg. lib. v. p. 337, 8, & 9.

^l This was about anno mundi 2011, and about one thousand nine hundred and ninety-three years before the christian æra, which is upwards of three hundred and fifty years before the *Pelasgi* went out of Greece.

pari called Etruria.^m The Tyrrheni or Tyrseni came into Italy before the colony under Oenotrus; for Strabo (l. v. p. 21) quotes a fragment of Anticlides to prove, that there were *Pelasgi* dwelling in places about Lemnos, and Imbrus, and that some of them sailed with Tyrrhenus, the son of Atys, into Italy. Hence it may be inferred, that there were *Pelasgi*, and some in Italy also, before the time of Oenotrus.

The Etruscan letters are Pelasgic, and several of the Etruscan inscriptions are written in the Pelasgic language. The Roman Letters are Ionic. Signior Gorius very properly distinguishes between the Etruscan, and Latin or Roman letters.

The *Oscan* language was a dialect of the Etruscan: their characters are nearer the Ionic, or Roman, than the Etruscan. There is very little difference between the Pelasgian, the Etruscan, and the most ancient Greek letters, which are placed from right to left.

The Arcadians were ancient Greeks: they used the Ionic letters, but at what time they first wrote from left to right is not known, as their chronology is very uncertain.

The Etruscan, the Oscan, and the Samnite alphabets, are derived from that of the Pelasgic; they differ from each other more in *name* than in *form*; but a far greater number are immediately derived from the Ionic Greek; namely, the *Arcadian*, the *Latin* or *Roman*, the ancient *Gaulish*, the ancient *Spanish*, the ancient *Gothic*, the *Coptic*, the *Russian*, the *Illyrian* or *Sclavonian*, the *Bulgarian*, and the *Armenian*; the *Runic* is immediately derived from the Gothic: Doctor Bernard and some other respectable writers are mistaken as to the derivations of some of the alphabets here mentioned; particularly in the Ethiopic, the Armenian, and the Runic; all these shall be considered in order.

Though it may be inferred from what hath already been said, that the Tyrrheni and the Pelasgi introduced their letters into Italy; it is necessary to be more explicit upon this head.

^m Bishop Cumberland adduces many proofs to shew that the Tyrrheni came out of Lydia into Italy. He also tells us when they came thither, and in what places they settled. *Orig. Gent. Antiq.* p. 315 to 343. Several Roman

authors speak of this Lydian colony.—Horace compliments his patron Mæcenas upon his Lydian descent:

— Lydorum quicquid Etruscos
Incoluit fines, nemo generosior est te.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus relates, *Antiq. book i. sect. ii.* that the first *Greek* colony which came into Italy, was of *Arcadians*, under Oenotrus son of Lycaon, and the fifth in descent from Phoroneus, the first king of Argos, who reigned about 566 years before the taking of Troy, or 1750 years before the christian æra."

These Oenotrians were called *Aborigines*; and, after they had been engaged for many years in a war with the *Siculi*, they entered into an alliance with a colony of the *Pelasgi*, who came into Italy out of Thessaly, they having been driven out of that country. This alliance was very natural, as the Oenotrians were *Pelasgi*.

About the year before Christ 1476, a colony of the *Pelasgi*, who had been driven out of Thessaly by the *Curetes* and *Leleges*, arrived in Italy, where they assisted the *Aborigines* in driving out the *Siculi*; they possessed themselves of the greatest part of the country between the Tiber and Liris, and built several cities. *Dion. of Hal. (ut supra, sect. xvii.)* says, that a colony of *Pelasgi* who inhabited Thessaly, were carried into Italy by Pelasgus, and landed at one of the mouths of the Po, called Spines. (This was said to have been about one thousand three hundred and eighty-five years before Christ). *Solinus* and *Pliny* tell us, that the *Pelasgi* first carried letters into Italy, and the latter distinguishes between the *Pelasgi* and *Arcades*; so the first letters which were carried into Italy were not the Ionic Greek, but those more ancient *Phœnician* letters, which the *Pelasgi* carried with them into Thessaly, before *Deucalion* and *Cadmus* are said to have come into *Bœotia* and Thessaly.*

The *Siculi* emigrated from Italy into Sicily about eighty years before the war of Troy, and 1264 before the christian æra.

Twenty years after the emigration of the *Siculi* into Sicily, another colony of *Arcadians*, from *Pallantium*,^p a city of *Arcadia*, under *Evander*, the son of *Mercury* and *Themis*, settled on one of the seven hills on

* *Dion.* is very correct in distinguishing this *Greek* colony from the *Tyrrheni*, who went into Italy by sea, about three hundred and fifty years before *Oenotrus*.

^p The story of *Cadmus* is much involved in fable; but it is agreed by most of the ancients, that the children of *Agænor* (namely, *Cadmus*, *Europa*, *Phœnix*, and *Cilix*) carried

with them a colony composed of *Phœnicians* and *Syrians*, into *Asia Minor*, *Crete*, *Greece*, and *Lybia*, where they introduced letters, music, poetry, and other arts, sciences, and customs of the *Phœnicians*.

^p See *Dionys. of Hal. lib. i. p. 24, 25.*—*See Dempster de Etrur. Regal. lib. i. chap. 6, p. 20, 21.*

which Rome was afterwards built. The colony brought into Italy by Evander from Arcadia, about twelve hundred and forty-four years before Christ, is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 51.—Dionysius of Halicarnassus says,^a that the Pelasgi worshipped Jupiter, Apollo, and the Cabiri; and that these Phenician deities were first brought by them into Italy.

We learn from the same author,^b that a few years after Evander, Hercules brought a colony of Greeks into Italy, who settled upon the Capitoline Hill, then called Saturnius, three furlongs from Pallantium. The colony brought by Hercules into Italy is also mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 661. Many particulars concerning the colony brought into Italy by Æneas from Troy, about one thousand one hundred and eighty-one years before the christian æra, may be seen in Mr. Spelman's Dissertation at the end of the first book of his translation of Dionysius. This was about 1223 years before Christ; for Dionysius says, that some of the colony of Hercules were Trojans, whom he brought from Troy, when he took that city and slew Laomedon, and made his son Priam king, as Apollodorus relates (lib. ii. c. 6.).

Dionysius (p. 49.) enumerates the following Greek colonies which came into Italy.—First, the Aborigines, under Ocnotrus from Arcadia. Secondly, the Pelasgic colony, which came from Hœmonia or Thessaly. Thirdly, a second Arcadian colony, which came with Evander from Pallantium. Fourthly, those who came from Peloponnesus with Hercules.^c Fifthly, those who came with Æneas from Troy. “

This last colony greatly eclipsed the glory of the former, the latter Romans choosing rather to derive their origin from the Trojans, than from the Greeks.

It is not easy to discover when the Ionic way of writing from left to right, was first received in Italy; but it is certain, that it did not *universally* prevail, even in Greece, till ages after it was found out. The *Athenians* did not comply with it till the year from the building of Rome

^a Dion. of Hal. p. 26.

^b Ibid. p. 26, 27.

^c Dicd. Sic. lib. vi. relates, That Hercules passed out of Gaul into Italy. Solinus Polyhistor reckons the Greek colonies to be, Aborigines, Aurunci, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi. c. viii.

And Pliny reckons them, Aborigines, Pelasgi, Arcades, Siculi, Aurunci, Rutuli, Osci, Volsci, and Ausones. See Hist. Nat. lib. iii. c. 5. The Umbri and Galli, may be reckoned amongst the most ancient inhabitants of Italy.

three hundred and fifty. It was not practised by the Samnites so late as the sixth century from the building of Rome, or about two hundred and thirty years before Christ; for Monsieur Gcbelin, vol. vi. plate 2, gives us the *Samnite* alphabet of that century, wherein the letters are placed from right to left; although the Ionic way of writing prevailed in some parts of Italy in the third century from the building of Rome.

“In time,” says Pliny, “the tacit consent of all nations agreed to use the Ionic letters. The Romans consented to this mode, about the time of Tarquinius Priscus, their fifth king.” The letters which Damaratus the Corinthian, the father of Tarquin, brought into Italy, Mr. Wise thinks, must have been the new or Ionic alphabet; and not the same as that brought by Evander above five hundred years before.

After the Romans had established the use of the Ionic letters, they seem not to have acknowledged the Pelasgian and Etruscan to have been Greek alphabets: the most learned of them knew none older than the Ionic, as appears from the Greek Farnese inscriptions of Herodes Atticus.* This learned man, out of a sacred regard to antiquity, caused the oldest orthography to be observed in the writing; and the letters to be delineated after the most antique forms that could be found; and they are plainly no other than the Ionic, or right-handed characters.

The ancient Gaulish letters are derived from the Greek, and their writing approaches more nearly to the Gothic, than that of the Roman: this appears by the monumental inscription of Gordian, messenger of the Gauls, who suffered martyrdom in the third century, with all his family.† These ancient Gaulish characters were generally used by that people before the conquest of Gaul by Cæsar; but after that period, the Roman letters were gradually introduced.

The ancient Spaniards used letters nearly Greek before their intercourse with the Romans, which may be seen in *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. i. p. 705.

* Gentium consensus tacitus omnium conspiravit, ut Ioniam literis uterentur. Hist. lib. vii. c. 57.

† He began to reign A.M. 3439; before Christ, 565. Damaratus of Corinth fled from the tyranny of Cypselus, found an asylum at Tarquinium in Tuscany, and took the name of Tarquinius.

* Vid. Cl. Salmasii duarum inscriptionum veterum Herodis Attici & Regillæ conjugis explicatio. Lut. Paris, 1619.—Scaliger Animadv. in Eusebium, p. 110.—Montfaucon Palæogr. Græc. p. 135.—Chishall Antiq. Asiat. p. 11.

† See N. T. Dipl. vol. i. p. 704.

The ancient Gothic alphabet is very similar to the Greek, and is attributed to Ulphilas, bishop of the Goths, who lived in Mæsia about the year 370 after Christ. He translated the Bible into the Gothic tongue. This circumstance might have occasioned the tradition of his having invented those letters; but we are of opinion that these characters were in use long before his time. Some account of this mss. translation of Ulphilas shall be given hereafter.

The Runic alphabet is derived from that of the ancient Gothic.*

The Coptic letters are immediately derived from the Greek.—Some authors have confounded them with those of the ancient Egyptians; but there is a very material difference between them: from this alphabet the Ethiopic is said to have been deduced.

The alphabet descended from the Scythians established in Europe, is that used by St. Cyril, called the Servien. The Russian, the Illyrian or Sclavonic, and the Bulgarian, are all derived from the Greek.†

The Armenian letters differ greatly from their supposed parents the Greek, and they vary much from those of the Latins.

We have treated generally of these alphabets, as it would exceed the limits of our design, to enter more particularly into each of them at present.

We shall now speak of the alphabets derived from the Roman, which are, the Lombardic, the Visigothic, the Saxon, the Gallican, the Franco-Gallic or Merovingian, the German, the Caroline, the Capetian, and the Modern Gothic. The first, relates to the mss. of Italy; the second, to those of Spain; the third, to the mss. of Great Britain; the fourth and fifth, to those of France; the sixth, to Germany; the seventh, eighth, and ninth, to all the countries of Europe which read Latin.

The six former alphabets, are before the age of Charlemagne; the three latter follow it. The characters of the above alphabets are more distinguished by their names than by their forms, which indicate that they are all of Roman extraction.

Each nation, in adopting the letters of the Romans, added thereto a taste and manner peculiar to itself, that obviously distinguished it from the writings of all other people. Hence arose that difference of taste

* See more concerning this and other alphabets, Chap. v. p. 88, 89, 90, & 91.

† See some account of these alphabets in the N. T. Dipl. vol. i. p. 707, 708.

in the writings of the Lombards, Spaniards, Saxons, French, Germans, and Goths; and all the strange turns observable in the ancient writings of the Francic-Gauls or Merovingians, and those of the Carolingians their successors, may be traced to the same source.

From those distinctions proceed the name of *National Writing*.

Writing in Italy was uniform until the irruption of the Goths, when it was disfigured by the taste of that barbarous people. In 569, the Lombards, having possessed themselves of all that part of the empire, except Rome and Ravenna, introduced another form of writing, which is termed *Lombardic*. As the popes used the Lombardic manner in their Bulls, the appellation of Roman was sometimes given to it in the eleventh century. Though the dominion of the Lombards continued no longer than about two hundred and six years, the name of their writing was still current beyond the Alps, from the seventh century to the beginning of the thirteenth, and then ceased.—Learning having declined in Italy as in other quarters, the art of writing degenerated there likewise into what we call *Modern Gothic*, of which we shall speak presently.

The Goths or Visigoths, in their incursions into Spain, introduced the Visigothic or *Spanish Gothic* form of writing into that country; but it was abolished in a provincial synod, held at Leon in 1091, when the Latin letters were established for all public instruments, though these characters were occasionally used in private transactions, for upwards of three centuries afterwards.

Saxon writing admits of various distinctions; namely, the Anglo-Saxon, Britanno-Saxon, and Dano-Saxon, of which we shall speak fully hereafter.

Writing in France was more various. The Gauls, on their being subjected by the Romans, adopted their manner of writing; but, by adding something of their own afterwards, they gave rise to the Gallican or *Roman Gallic* mode.

The Franks, a people of Germany, having conquered part of Gaul, displayed even in writing, their love of ease, and aversion to all constraint. Their characters are called *Franco-Gallic*, or *Merovingian*, because this kind of writing was practised under the kings of the Merovingian race. It took place about the close of the sixth century, and prevailed till the beginning of the ninth.

Charlemagne, zealous for the revival of learning, improved the

^b He began to reign A.D. 814.

characters which before his time had been used in Germany; and this improvement occasioned another distinction in writing, called *the Caroline*, which declined in the twelfth century, and totally disappeared in the thirteenth, when it was succeeded in Germany by the *Modern Gothic*.

The *Caroline writing* having degenerated, was restored by Hugh Capet, about the year 987. This reformed mode of writing, hath acquired the name of *Capetian* from its founder. It was much practised till about the middle of the twelfth century, but in the thirteenth it degenerated into the *Modern Gothic*. The writing called *Capetian* was used in England and in Germany, as well as in France, during the period above mentioned.

The *Modern Gothic*, which spread itself all over Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is improperly so called, because it does not derive its origin from the writing anciently used by the Goths and Visigoths, in Italy and Spain, but this *Modern Gothic* is the most barbarous or worst kind of writing; it took its rise in the decline of the arts, among the lazy schoolmen, who had the worst taste; it is nothing more than the Latin writing degenerated.—This writing began in the twelfth century, and was in general use (especially among monks and schoolmen) in all parts of Europe, till the restoration of the arts, in the fifteenth century, and longer in Germany and the northern nations: Our statute books are still printed in Gothic letters.

The most barbarous writing of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, was not so bad as the *Modern Gothic*. This kind of writing is so diversified, that it is not easy to describe its great variety; the abbreviations introduced by the writers were so numerous, that it was difficult to read them; and this was one of the causes of the great ignorance of those times. Those different forms, however, were not so exclusively peculiar to the nations among whom they originated, as never to be used by their neighbours; on the contrary, we find *Lombardic* and *Gothic* sometimes in France: this would happen from ecclesiastics of one nation being transplanted into another. Thus we find many mss. written in England, in the Roman, Caroline, Capetian, and *Modern Gothic* letters, which is easily accounted for, when we consider, that our bishops and mitred abbots were frequently foreigners, who brought with them many ecclesiastics from foreign parts; these wrote the hands of the respective countries where they had been educated.

The learned are not agreed with respect to the origin of what is called *National Writing*; some will have it, that the Roman manner prevailed throughout the west, until the irruption of the barbarous nations of the north, in the fifth and sixth centuries; the Goths (say they) first introduced their mode of writing in Italy, instead of the Roman manner; the Visigoths did the like in Spain, the Franks in Gaul, and the Saxons in England; the Lombards having made themselves masters of the country that bears their name, substituted their own peculiar form of writing, and established it in every part of Italy.

According to others, the Romans were in possession of various forms of writing; but it is supposed, that the barbarous nations introduced some of their own letters, in the writings composed of capitals and small letters; that the cursive form, or running-hand, peculiar to each nation, was used in grants and contracts, and found admittance likewise in mss. after the middle of the seventh century.

However, we are of opinion, that the different modes of writing in Italy, Spain, France, England, and Germany, were derived from the Roman *alone*. While Rome continued the centre of all the provinces of the empire, her manner of writing generally prevailed in each; but the empire being dismembered, and all the western provinces disunited, a change was produced; not that the conquerors added any new characters to the Roman writing, but they disfigured it; and, by their false taste and ignorance, distinguished their writing from that of their neighbours: the genius and disposition of the different people, had no small share in producing this diversity.

The idea that all the writings of the several nations last mentioned, is derived from the Roman, is natural and satisfactory; it tends to prove the distinction of *national* writing, and is of great assistance towards discovering the age of manuscripts: for, though we may not be able exactly to ascertain the time when a ms. was written, we may nearly determine its age.—For example, if a writing is Merovingian, it may be declared without hesitation not to be subsequent to the ninth, nor prior to the fifth century: if another is Lombardic, it may be affirmed to be posterior to the middle of the sixth, and anterior to the thirteenth; should it be Saxon, it cannot be of an earlier date than the seventh, nor of a later than about the middle of the twelfth, especially with regard to mss.

CHAP. V.

OF THE MANNER OF WRITING IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES AT
DIFFERENT PERIODS OF TIME.

FORMS OF LETTERS—PHENICIAN LETTERS, AND THEIR DERIVATIVES—PELASGIC LETTERS, AND THEIR DERIVATIVES—ROMAN LETTERS, AND THOSE DERIVED FROM THEM—SPECIMENS OF ANCIENT ALPHABETS AND WRITING.

ELEMENTARY characters or letters, being nothing more than *marks* for *sounds*, as we have already demonstrated, the consideration of their *FORMS*, hath not as yet been a necessary object of our attention; for in the point of view we have hitherto considered them, their forms were of no importance, because it is from the sounds, of which they are significant, and not from their forms, or even positions, that they derive their powers; for whether they are placed from right to left, as practised by some Eastern nations, or from left to right, as is at present generally practised in Europe, or in perpendicular lines, as in Tartary, and some other parts of Asia, is not of the least consequence; because these marks will equally combine into words, significant of the sounds of language, in whatever manner they may be placed.

The consideration of the *forms* and *positions* of letters, now naturally presents itself; a competent knowledge of which, is absolutely necessary for ascertaining the age and authenticity of inscriptions, manuscripts, charters, and ancient records.

Many authors are of opinion, that letters derive their *forms* from the positions of the organs of speech in their pronunciation. Monsieur Van Helmont hath taken great pains to prove, that the Chaldaic characters are the genuine alphabet of nature, because, according to him, no letter

can be rightly sounded, without disposing the organs of speech, into an uniform position with the figure of each letter.*

The president De Brosse, in his work upon the theory of language, supports this opinion. The author of a book, intituled, Conjectural Observations on the Origin and Progress of Alphabetic Writing, (Lond. 1772, 8vo.) coincides with the above authors in their opinions.

Not long since, Mr. Nelme published a work, wherein he has laboured to shew that all elementary characters or letters, derive their forms from the Line and the Circle.^b

This author might have spared himself much trouble if he had considered that his hypothesis is self-evident; as by a little reflection, he might have discovered, that all arbitrary marks or characters whatever, must necessarily be composed of Lines, or of Curves, or of both.

Monsieur Gebelin deduces them from hieroglyphic representations; and he hath given us several delineations of human figures, trees, &c. in confirmation of his hypothesis.^c

It is not necessary to interrupt our inquiry by entering into the above conjectures; for letters being only marks for sounds, their forms intirely depended upon the taste, fancy, will, or caprice, of those who first formed them. In this point of view, they may be considered as mere arbitrary marks, or secret cyphers, which, by being made known and adopted, would become of general use, wherever they were received by agreement.^d

* See Alphabet. Natur. by F. M. B. Van Helmont. Saltzburgh, 1667. This author hath anatomized the organs of articulation in support of his system.

^b The alphabet given by Mr. Nelme consists of thirteen radical letters, four diminished, and four augmented. His radical letters are L, O, S, A, B, C, D, N, U, F, E, M, R. He says, that H is derived from A; P from B; T from D; and F from V: these he calls diminished characters. Z is derived from S; G from C; W from U; and Y from I: these, he says, are augmented letters.

^c See Monde Primitif, tom. iii. Paris, 1775, 4to.

^d One of the most simple alphabets has

been formed by making two perpendicular, and two horizontal lines, thus, $\begin{array}{c} a | b | c \\ d | e | f \\ g | h | i \end{array}$ from which

may be deduced nine different characters or letters, $\begin{array}{c} a | b | c \\ d | e | f \\ g | h | i \end{array}$ nine more may be made, by adding a point

to each, $\begin{array}{c} k | l | m \\ n | o | p \\ q | r | s \end{array}$ and as many more as may

be necessary for the notation of any language, by adding two or more points to each character.—Though these square characters are not calculated for dispatch, yet they may be made as expeditiously, or more so, than the Tartar, the Bramin, the Cashmirian, and many others. Writing composed of these characters, is at

Although we have already shewn that all alphabets are not derived from one, yet we have allowed that most of the alphabets now used in Europe, as well as in several parts of Asia and Africa, are derived from the Phenician: this will appear in the course of the present chapter.

The letters of the ten first alphabets in the first plate are so similar in their general outlines, that we apprehend it will easily be admitted that they are all derived from the same source. They are taken from Monsieur Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*, vol. iii. plate 6. This author says, that sixteen letters originally composed the primitive alphabets, and that no more were for a long time used; though the author of a work, on the alphabet and language of the Phenicians, says, that the most ancient Phenician alphabet consisted but of thirteen letters; and the *Primum Alphabetum Etruscorum*, given us by Dr. Swinton and others, was composed of the like number. The Phenician alphabet from the inscription at Oxford, differs from that given by Monsieur Gebelin, yet they are very similar. We have already shewn, that letters were known in Phenicia about a century and a half after the deluge recorded by Moses, and two thousand one hundred and eighty years before Christ.

The general alphabet of the Phenician, ancient Hebrew or Samaritan, is deduced from the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. i. p. 656, and from several coins, medals, and other most ancient documents; as are also the alphabets of the Punic, the Pelasgian, the Arcadian, and ancient Gaulish. The pure Phenician characters, as also those of the Bastulan and Punic, were lost in the Pelasgian.

The general alphabet of the Etruscans, at the bottom of the plate, comprehends not only all the letters which we find in the Pelasgian, but also such letters as were afterwards introduced into Italy, before the Ionic or Roman letters were received in that country.

first sight in some degree like the Hebrew. Mr. Dow, author of the *History of Hindostan*, lately formed a new language and alphabet. I have been informed by one who knew him well that this new language, and the characters formed for its notation, were so easy, that a female of his acquaintance acquired the knowledge of them in three weeks, and corresponded with him therein during their intimacy.

* *Del Alphabeto y Lengua de los Fenices, y de sus Colonias.* Madrid 1772, fol.—This author gives the pure Phenician alphabet, which consists of thirteen letters;—the Carthaginian or Sicilian Phenician, and the Bastulan or Spanish Phenician alphabets.—These differ very little from each other in their forms.

most ancient inscriptions in the Pelasgian characters and language, have seen, are those found at Eugubium, a city in Umbria in the pennines, in the year 1456. Seven tables of brass were discovered; five of which were in Pelasgic or Etruscan characters, and two in Latin.^f The first of these Eugubian tables contains a poem or lamentation after a pestilence, which was composed about one hundred and sixty-eight years after the taking of Troy, or one thousand and sixteen before Christ, and one thousand three hundred and thirty-two after the deluge. It appears by these tables that the republic of Eugubium was much anterior to Rome.

The Oscan alphabet in the same plate, is very similar to the Pelasgic and Etruscan; it is taken from an inscription on marble, in the Oscan, or Volscian tongue, now preserved in the museum of the seminary at Nola, in Italy. This marble was found at Abella, a town not far distant from Nola.^g Before the discovery of this inscription, we had no Oscan letters, except a few on coins, or on precious stones, which were not sufficient to furnish an alphabet: some of the letters have a resemblance to the Roman.

This alphabet consists of sixteen characters; the Osci seem to have wanted the letters D, G, O, Q, X, and Z. The Oscan or Volscian language, was chiefly spoken in Campania and Ausonia; and Passer demonstrates, that there is a great affinity between the Oscan and the Latin tongue.^h

GREEK LETTERS AND WRITING.

The learned authors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, (vol. i. p. 580), deliver it as their opinion, which they support with great erudition, that the

^f See a particular account of these tables given by Mons. Gebelin, vol. vi. p. 222 to 224; and see also *Etrurie Royale* by Gorius, Lucca, 1767, fol. (where the first table is engraved), and Sir William Hamilton's *Etruscan Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 26.

^g It contains an Award made by one Tancinus, tribune of the people of Abella, who was appointed umpire, to determine disputes between the inhabitants of Abella and Nola concerning their boundaries. The inscription

is imperfect; but fifty-seven lines are now remaining, which are read from right to left.

^h See J. Bapt. Passer's *Etruscan Paintings*, vol. iii. Rome, 1775, p. 75.—At p. 113, of this work is a view of Hebrew words, from whence the Etruscan, and from thence the Latin, are derived.—At p. 116, is an Etruscan Lexicon; and at p. 129, is a Lexicon, explaining the Etruscan words which occur on the Eugubian Tables.

Greek letters were not derived from the Egyptian, as some have supposed; but from the Phenician Pelasgi, who settled in Greece.¹

The Greeks preserved the names of the Samaritan or Phenician letters. Spanheim, Montfaucon, and others, say, with great probability of truth, that the Greeks originally used the eastern manner of writing, from right to left.*

Before we proceed to speak of the different modes of writing, it may be necessary to observe, that all writing may be divided into *capitals*, *uncials*, and *small letters*. All ancient inscriptions on stones and marbles belong to the first; mss. to the second; and, to the third, charters, grants, and other matters of business. Before the middle of the fourth century, *small letters* were very rarely used even in mss. Before the eighth century, they were common in particular mss.: in that age they began to prevail over *capitals* and *uncials*, which till then had been the ruling form; in the ninth century, small letters were generally used, and in the tenth their triumph was complete.

The mode of writing called by the Greeks *Βαστοχῆδον*, which is backwards and forwards, as the ox plows, is of very high antiquity. Of this writing there were two kinds; the most ancient commencing from right to left, and the other from left to right.

The oldest Greek letters, which are written from right to left, are nearly *Pelasgic*, as appears by comparing the first Greek alphabet in plate I, with the Pelasgic alphabet in the same plate. The Greek alphabet originally consisted of sixteen letters. Four double letters; namely, Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ, are said to have been added by Palamedes, about twenty years before the taking of Troy, or one thousand one hundred and sixty-four years before Christ. Simonides is generally supposed to have added the letters Ζ, Η, Ψ, Ω: but some of these letters were used before the days of Palamedes and Simonides, for we find the letters Η, Θ, Φ, in that most ancient inscription, said by the Abbé Fourmont to have been found

¹ Three opinions have prevailed concerning the origin of Greek letters; the first, that Cadmus was the inventor; the second, attributes them to Cecrops;—and the third, with more reason, to the Pelasgi.

* See Spanheim on Medals, p. 110.—Montfaucon's *Paleographie Græca*, &c.

EXEMPLAR *Literarum Graecarum ex Marm. et MSS.*

ΕΛΛΑΜΑ Τ ΑΙΛΑΜΕ Μ.
 ΕΕΡ Ε.ΕΛΙΓΓΚ... ΤΑ ΚΑΛΙΜΑΚΑ
 ΔΑΜΙΑΔ Τ Α ΙΑΔΤΥ ΑΞΕΤΑΜ
 ΜΑΤΕΕΡ ΚΑΑΑΔΕ ΑΙΣ ΤΑ ΚΑΑΑΔΕΑΔ
 ΔΑΞΔ Τ ΑΥΔΜΔΜΑ Δ Κ ΔΞΕΤΑΜ.
 ΛΕΔ ΜΑΤΕΕΡ ΝΕΡΜΑΜΔ ΝΑ ΤΑ

II ΔΥΔΥΔΥΔΥΔΥΔΥΔΥΔΥΔΥ
 - ΙΕΔΕΙΑ

III ΙΕΚΕΟΕΜΧ
 ΡΡΒΤΟΚΒΕΣΟ
 ΜΕΞΕ

VI ΒΑΣΙΛΕΣ

VII ΒΑΣΙΛΕΕΣ

VIII ΒΑΣΙΛΕΕΣ

ΒΕΘΡΟΜΡΟΣ
 ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ΑΛΚΑΜΕΝΙΣ
 ΤΑΕΚΛΟΥ

ΒΕΘΡΟΜΡΟΣ
 ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ΑΛΚΑΜΕΝΗΣ
 ΤΑΕΚΛΟΥ

ΒΕΘΡΟΜΡΟΣ ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ
 ΑΛΚΑΜΕΝΗΣ ΤΑΕΚΛΟΥ

IX ΤΙΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΟΣΜΟ
 ΕΙΜΗΟΤΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΟΤΙ ΕΣΤΙ
 ΟΥΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΕΣΤΙΝ
 ΟΕΛΘΩΝ ΔΙΎΔΑΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΙΜΑΤΟΣ

X ΕΙΗ: ΖΗ: ΕΟΙΟΝΟΕ
 ΗΓΑΡΕΚΕΙΝΟΓ
 ΟΤΙ ΠΑΣΟΝ ΨΩΝΕ
 ΑΥΤΟΝ ΤΑ ΠΕΙΝΩ

XI Α ΕΚ ΚΑ ΜΑΡΚ
 Ι ΠΕΝΟΚΕΙΤΙΣ
 ΘΕΛΕΙΟΤΙΣ
 ΜΟΥ ΑΚΟΛΟΥΘ
 ΑΠΑΡΝΙΣΑΘΕΝΕ

XII ΚΑΝΟΝΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΕΦΕΣΩ
 ΣΥΝΕΛΘΟΝ ΤΩ ΤΟΤΕΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ
 ΗΤΙΣ ΣΤΙΝ ΤΡΙΤΗΝ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΗΝ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΝ

IV ΦΑΝΟΒΙΚΟ: Ε ΜΙΤΟΝ
 ΟΧΟΑΤΟΤ: ΣΟΤΑΡΧΟΜΕΝ
 ΜΕΖΙΟ: ΚΑΛΟ: ΚΡΑΤΕΡΑ
 ΜΘΕ Η ΙΑΚ: ΜΟΤΑΤΣΙΤΑΥ
 ΟΥ: ΕΖΓΡΥΤΑΜΕΙΟΝ: Κ
 ΥΕΛΙΣ: ΑΜΕΜ: ΛΙΧΟΔ
 ΕΥΖΙ: ΕΑΜΔΕΤΙΓΑΖ
 ΟΕ: ΜΕΜΙ ΑΔΕΝΕΜΟ
 ΣΙΛΕΙΕΣ: ΚΑΙ ΜΕΓΟ
 ΙΑΚ: ΣΟΤΟΖΙΑΗ: ΜΕΣΙΕ
 ΗΔΕ ΕΥΦΟΙ

VO ΑΚΥΤΟΛΙΘΟΕΜΑ
 ΝΔΡΙΑΣΚΑΙΤΟΣΟ
 ΕΜΑΣ

at Amyclea, in Laconia,¹ which is supposed to have been written about one hundred and sixty years before the siege of Troy, and one thousand three hundred and forty-four before Christ.^m It is now preserved at Paris, with some other pieces asserted to have been discovered by the Abbè Fourmont.—See a specimen of this inscription, plate II. N° 1; the reading of which is as follows:

MHENAAIA TO AMOKEA TEER EKALIPAKS TO KALI-
MAKO MATEER MAKIA TO KALIMAKO MATEER K KAPOΔEPIΣ TO
KAPPOΔEPO MATEER KA AMOMONA TO ΔEPOΣEO MATEER NEP-
MOMONĀ TO

Which, rendered into the ordinary Greek, will be read thus:

*Μηναλια τῷ Ἀμοκελ τεερ, Εκαλιπακς . . τῷ Καλιμακῷ ματεερ, Μνακια
τῷ Καλιμακῷ ματεερ κ Καρροδερις τῷ Καρροδερῷ ματεερ κα Νερμομονα τῷ Δε-
ρσευ ματεερ Νερμομονα τῷ.*

The Abbè Barthelémy is of opinion, that this inscription was intended to preserve the names of the priestesses of the temple of Apollo at Amyclea.ⁿ There is no Ω in this inscription, there are two Omicrons to distinguish between the long and the short O; though another inscription of about eight hundred years before Christ hath the Ω. The Ξ is not used in this inscription, but it is supplied by the junction of the κ with the Σ. The Ψ and the Ζ are not in this inscription, which is a strong presumption, if genuine, that it is anterior to the introduction of these letters into the Greek alphabet. The X is not in the inscription; the κ is substituted for it. The three famous inscriptions of seven and eight hundred years before Christ, published by the Abbè Fourmont, have the letter X, as also the Φ and the Η.^o

¹ In this city was one of the most celebrated temples of all Greece, in which was a statue of Apollo, thirty cubits high.—This place is now called Schabochori.

^m Mons. Gebelin says, it was written about two hundred years before the Trojan war.

ⁿ Mem. de l'Acad. des Insc. & B. L. tom. xxxix. edit. in 12. p. 129.

^o See more concerning this inscription in

the Nouveau Traité de Dipl. t. i. p. 615 to 626; and Universal Hist. vol. xvi. p. 46, note D.—Mr. R. P. Knight with great strength of argument, and critical acumen, invalidates the authenticity of the Marbles given by the Abbè Fourmont, and insists on their being forgeries.—See his Analytical Essay on Greek Alphabets, p. 111 to 130, London, 1794. 4to.

The second specimen in the same plate begins also from right to left; it is said by the Abbé Fourmont to have been found at Amyclea; the characters are not so rude as the former, and therefore it is supposed to be more modern: the words are,

ΔΑΜΟΝΑΚΑ ΔΑΜΟΝΑΚΟ ΙΕΡΕΙΑ:

otherwise, *Δαμονάκα Δαμονάκου ἱερεῖα.*

The above inscription is said to have been placed at the foot of some statue, or bas relief, representing Damonak offering a sacrifice.

The third specimen of the Boustrophedon, beginning from the right hand, is taken from a marble in the National Museum at Paris. The first two characters are monograms; this, if authentick, is evidently of a later date than the two former specimens. The words are,

ΥΛΛΟΣ ΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΙΔΕΣ ΝΟΗΣΕΝ;

Υλλος ἐθήκεν Ἀριστοκυδὲς νόησεν;

i.e. "Hyllus placed me—Aristocydes made me."

The fourth specimen in the same plate is taken from the famous Sigeian inscription, which was written more than five hundred years before Christ. It is the first I have met with, which begins from the left. The reading of this inscription is,

ΦΑΝΟΔΙΚΟ : ΕΜΙ : ΤΟ ΗΕΡΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΣ : ΤΟ ΠΡΟΚΟΝΕΣΙΟ : ΚΑΓΟ : ΚΡΑΤΕΡΑ :
ΚΑΠΙΣΤΑΤΟΝ : ΚΑΙ ΗΕΘΜΟΝ : ΕΣ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙΟΝ : Κ ΔΟΚΑ : ΜΝΕΜΑ : ΣΙ-
ΓΕΥΕΤΣΙ : ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙ ΠΑΣΧΟ ΜΕΛΕΔΑΙΝΕΝ : ΔΕ Ο ΣΙΓΕΙΕΣ : ΚΑΙ ΜΕΠΟΕΙΣΕΝ :
ΗΑΙΣΟΠΟΣ : ΚΑΙ Η ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ.

Id est, Φανοδίκῃ ἐμὶ τῷ Ἑρμοκράτῃ τῷ Προκονησίου κάγω κράτῃρα κάπίστατον, καὶ ἥθμον ἐς πρυτάνειον κ' ἔδοκα μνήμα Σιγείῃσι. εἰάν δὲ τι πάσχω μελεδαίνειν δεῖ ᾧ Σιγείῃσι. καὶ μ' ἐποίησεν ὁ Ἀισοπος, καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί.

* "I am the statue of Phanodicus, the son of Hermocrates the Proconesian. I gave a cup, a saucer, and a strainer, to serve as a monument in the Council-house. If I meet

with any accident, it belongs to you, O Sigeans, to repair me. I am the work of Æsop and his brethren."—See some account of this inscription in Chishull's Asiatic Antiquities.

The Boustrophedon writing is said to have been disused about four hundred and fifty-seven years before Christ; inscriptions of the seventh and eighth centuries before Christ are generally from left to right.*

The fifth specimen is from the inscription found by Mons. Tournefort, at the foot of a statue in the Isle of Delos. It is engraven by Montfaucon in his *Palæographia Græca*, p. 122; the reading is,

ΟΑΝΤΟ ΛΙΘΟ ΕΜΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΣΦΕΛΑΣ;

Id est, 'Εν τῷ λίθῳ εἰμὶ ἀνδρίας καὶ τὸ σφέλας.

It may be observed that writing from the left hand, was current amongst the Greeks a long time before the Boustrophedon writing was entirely disused. This appears by the sixth, seventh, and eighth specimens of the second plate, which are of the eighth and ninth centuries before Christ, and which are published in the fifteenth volume of the *Memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres*.

The reading of N° vi. is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΕΣ. Θεόπομπος, Νικάνδρου, Ἀλκαμένης Ταλέκλου.

Kings. Theopompus, son of Nicander; Alcamenes, son of Taleclus.

That of N° vii. is nearly the same. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΕΣ. Σεόπομπος Νικάνδρου, Ἀλκαμένης Ταλέκλου.

The inscription N° viii. relates to the son and successor of Alcamenes:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΕΣ. Σιόπομπος Νικάνδρου, Πολύδορος Ἀλκαμένεο.

Kings. Theopompus, son of Nicander; Polydore, son of Alcamenes.

Monograms and joined letters are of very high antiquity amongst the Greeks. See plate II. N° 3; and plate VI. N° 1.—If it should be asked, at what period of time joined letters were introduced in ancient monuments; it is evident, that this practice was universal in the most early ages. Sufficient proofs of this fact appear in a work published at Palermo in 1769, intitled, "*Siciliæ Veterum Inscriptionum*," &c. At page 54 of this work, are many proofs of their being used in Syria,

* See the N. T. de Dipl. vol. i. p. 614.

Egypt, and Greece; which practice, will appear, was adopted by the Etruscans, the Romans, the Saxons; and by most other nations.

The mss. of the Greeks, were usually written in capitals till the seventh century, and generally without any division of words; several written in this manner are still remaining in England: for instance, Plate III. contains a specimen of the Book of Genesis, which was brought from Philippi by two Greek bishops, who presented it to king Henry the Eighth, telling him at the same time, that tradition reported it to have been 'Origen's own book. Queen Elizabeth gave it to Sir John Fortescue, her preceptor in Greek, who placed it in the Cottonian Library. It was almost destroyed by a fire which happened in that Library in the year 1731; but the specimen here given, was made while the writing was in its original state, and before the parchment was contracted by the fire. This ms. contained one hundred and sixty-five folios, and two hundred and fifty most curious paintings, twenty-one fragments of which were engraven by the Society of Antiquaries of London. The specimen is taken from the 14th chapter of the book of Genesis, v.^o 17, 18, 19, and 20; and is read as follows:

(17) Εξηλθεν δε βασιλευς Σοδομων[†] εις υναν

τησιν αυτω μετα το υποσρεψαι αυτον

απο της κοπης τε χ^ρ:δαλλογομορ και

των βασιλεων των μετ' αυτε εις την

κοιλαδα πην σαυη[†] τουτο ην το πεδιον

βασιλεων (18) και μελχισεδεκ βασιλευς

Σαλημ εξηνεγκεν αρτους και οινον ην

δε ιερευσ τε θ^ω τε υψισου (19) και ευλογη

σεν τον 'Αβραμ και ειπεν ευλογημενος

Αβραμ τω θ^ω υψισω (20) ος εκτισεν

[†] Origen was born at Alexandria, A.D. 186; and died at Tyre, A.D. 255. See an account of him and his works in Mosheim's Ecclesiastical Hist. vol. i. p. 198. Lond. 1774.

[†] εισυνατήσιν, lege εις συνατήσιν. Sigma omissum est.

Antiquissimo et præclaro Græco, Genesios, olim in Bibliotheca Cottoniana (Tab. III. p. 70.
merabantur folia 165. atq. ad illustrandam historiam picturae 230. (OTHO B. P.
(De hoc codice V. Dissertat. Rev. Hen. Owen. D. Lond. 1778. 8^o.)

ΣΗΛΘΕΝ ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΔΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΥΝΑΝ
 ΤΗΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ὙΠΟ ΤΡΕΨΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ
 ΑΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΤΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΧΟΔΑΛΛΟ ΤΟ ΜΟΡΚΑΙ
 ΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΤΗΝ
 ΚΟΙΛΑΔΑ ΤΗΝ ΣΑΥΗ· ΤΟΥΤΟ ΗΝ ΤΟ ΠΕΔΙΟΝ
 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ· ΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΧΙΣ ΕΔΕΚ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ
 ΣΑΛΗ ΜΕΣΗΝ ΕΓΚΕΝΑΡ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΙΟΙΝΟΝ ΗΝ
 ΔΕ ΪΕΡΕΥΣ ΤΟΥ Θῦ ΤΟΥ ΥΨΙΣΤΟΥ· ΚΑΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΗ
 ΣΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΑΒΡΑΜ ΚΑΙ ΕΪΠΕΝ· ΕΥΛΟΓΗΜΕΝΟΣ
 ΑΒΡΑΜ Τῷ Θῶ Τῷ ὙΨΙΣΤῷ· ΟΣ ΕΚΤΙΣ ΕΝ
 ΤΟΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΓΗΝ· ΚΑΙ ΕΥΛΟΓΗ
 ΤΟ ΣΟΘΕΟ ὙΨΙΣΤΟΣ· ΟΣ ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΤΟΥΣ Ε
 ΧΘΡΟΥΣ ΣΟΥ ὙΠΟ ΧΕΙΡΙΟΥΣ ΣΟΙ· ΚΑΙ ΕΔΩ
 ΚΕΝ ΑΥΤῷ ΔΕΚΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ·

Ζ

Μ

Φ

Antiquissimo Codice Genesios, in Bibliotheca Cesarea Vindobonensi, Exarcto foliis 24 Illustrato Picturis

ΣΗΛΘΕΝ ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΟΔΟΜΩΝ ΕΙΣ ΥΝΑΝ
 ΤΗΣΙΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΤΟ ΑΝΑ ΤΡΕΨΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝ

τον κρανον και την γην και εὐλογη
 τος ο' θς ο ὑψιστος· ος εδωκεν τους ε
 χθρους σου υποχειρις σοι· και εδω
 κεν αυτω δεκατην απο παντων
 ζ μ φ

Εξηλθεν δε βασιλευς Σοδομων εις συν
 αυτησιν αυτω μετα το αναστρεψαι αυτο

Although it is impossible to ascertain whether this book belonged to Origen or not, we agree in opinion with the learned 'Dr. Owen, that it is the oldest Greek ms. in England, and perhaps in Europe: the forms of the letters are more ancient than the famous book of Genesis, preserved in the Imperial Library at Vienna," which is generally allowed to be at least fourteen hundred years old; a specimen of which ms. is given at the bottom of this plate.

We recommend to those who may transcribe the most ancient Greek mss. to take great care that they do not mistake one letter for another. In this ms. the letters Α, Δ, and Λ, are often so like each other as scarcely to be distinguished. The same may be said of the Γ and the Τ; indeed the librarii who transcribed the ancient Greek mss. for their employers, very frequently mistook one of the above mentioned letters for the other. Dr. Owen points out several inaccuracies in the writing of this ms. which are applicable to ancient Greek mss. in general; as the permutation, omission, and addition of consonants, the permutation of vowels and diphthongs, of which he gives several instances.

The ninth specimen of plate II. is taken from the famous Codex Alexandrinus, which is reported to have been written about the middle

* Θς lege θς cum lineola superiori quæ deest.

† See Dr. Owen's preface to his publication of Grabe's Collation of this ms. p. 6. Lond. 1777. 8vo.

" See Lambecius's Cat. (vol. iii. p. 2.) This ms. says Lambecius, is above one thousand three hundred years old, and is written upon

purple vellum, in letters of gold and silver, and consists of twenty-six leaves; the first twenty-four of which, contain fragments of the book of Genesis, adorned with forty-eight pictures in water colours, which are engraven in vol. iii. of his Cat. printed at Vienna, in 1670.

of the fourth century, at Alexandria, by Thécia, a noble Egyptian lady. This valuable ms. was sent by Cyril, patriarch of Constantinople, to king Charles the first, about the year 1628, and is now preserved in the Royal Library in the British Museum;* this specimen is from the First Epistle of St. John, chap. v. ver. 5. and is to be thus read:

Τίς ἐστὶν ὁ νικῶν τὸν κόσμον
εἰ μὴ ὁ πιστεύων ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐστὶν
ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ οὗτος ἐστὶν
ὁ ἐλθὼν δι' ὕδατος καὶ αἱματος·

The fourth plate, is taken from the Acts of the Apostles in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and is believed to be the book which the Venerable Bede made use of in the seventh century, because it hath all those irregular Latin readings which, in his Commentaries on the Acts, he says were in *his* book; and no other ms. is now found to have them: this ms. seems to have been written about the beginning of the fifth century.

Plate fifth, is taken from a most ancient ms. in Greek and Latin, in the Public Library at Cambridge. This ms. is generally believed to have been written in the fifth century; it is now best known by the name of Beza's Testament, because it was given by him to the University, in 1582.† This specimen is taken from the third Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, ver. 22, and is to be thus read;

οὐρανὸν καὶ καταβῆναι τὸ πνεῦμα
τὸ ἅγιον σωματικῶς εἶδει ὡς περιεβρα-
νίσθη αὐτὸν καὶ φωνὴν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ
γενέσθαι υἱὸς μου εἰ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον
γεγεννηκά σε ἣν δὲ Ἰησὺς ὡς ἔτων-
ἀρχομένου ὡς ἐνομείζετο εἶναι

* This ms. was published by the Reverend Mr. Woide; late one of the assistant librarians in the British Museum, *in fac simile* characters.

† Concerning this ms. see Catal. mss. Angliæ & Hiberniæ, pars ii. fol. 173; Blanchin's Evangél. Quadruplex, p. 481. See also Wetstein's Prolegom. Nov. Test. p. 30, et seqq.

ΕΙΧΙΤΑΥΤΕΩ	ΕΙΠΕΝΔΕ
PRINCEPS SACERDOTUM ΟΥΡ ΧΙΕΡΕΥC	
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟ	ΤΩCΤΕΦΑΝΩ
ΣΙΕΝΙΩ	ΕΙΛΑΡΑ
ΗΑΕC	ΤΑΥΤΑ
ΙΤΑ	ΟΥΤΩC
ΗΑΒΕΤ	ΕΧΕΙ
ΑΔΙΛΛΕΑΙΤ	ΟΔΕΕΦΗ
ΥΙΡΙ	ΑΝΔΡΕC
FRATRES	ΑΔΕΛΦΟΙ
ΕΤΡΑΤΡΕC	ΚΑΙΠΑΤΕΡΕC
ΑΥΔΙΤΕ	ΑΚΟΥCΑΤΕ
ΔΕΥC	ΟΘC
ΓΛΟΡΙΑΕ	ΤΗCΔΟΞΗC
ΥΙCΥCΕCΤ	ΩΦΘΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙ	ΤΩΠΡΙ
ΝΟCΤΡΟ	ΗΜΩΝ
ΑΒΡΑΗΑΕ	ΑΒΡΑΑΜ

bc d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u v x y z
ΒΓΔΕ Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ψ Φ Ψ Ω

Alphabetum Codicis Dioscoridiani, in Bibl. Cæs. Vindobonensi circa AD. 505 exaratum.

ΑΒΓ ΔΕΖ ΗΘΙΚ ΛΜΝ ΞΟΠ Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Ψ Ω

Tab. V. p. 72.
Ex Libro EVANG: SS: MATTH: MARCI et LUCAE &c
in Bibl: publicā. CANTAB: aservato.

ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΑΒΗΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΜΑ
 ΤΟ ΑΓΙΟΝ ΣΩΜΑΤΙΚΩΣ ΕΙΔΩΣ ΠΕΡΙΣΤΕΡΑΝ
 ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΩΝΗΝΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΥ
 ΓΕΝΕΘΑΙ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΟΥ ΕΙΣ ΕΤΩ ΣΗΜΕΡΟΝ
 ΓΕΓΕΝΗΗΚ ΑΣΘΗΝΔΕΙΗΣ ΩΣ ΕΤΩΝ Α
 ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΩΣ ΕΝ ΟΜΕΙΣ ΕΤΟ ΕΙΝΑΙ

ΥΙΟΣ	ΙΩΣΗΦ
ΤΟΥ	ΙΑΚΩΒ
ΤΟΥ	ΜΑΘΘΑΝ
ΤΟΥ	ΕΛΕΑΖΑΡ
ΤΟΥ	ΕΛΙΟΥΔ
ΤΟΥ	ΙΑΧΕΙΝ
ΤΟΥ	ΣΑΔΩΚ
ΤΟΥ	ΑΖΩΡ

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω

CAELUM ET DESCENDERE SPIRITUM
 SANCTUM CORPORALIFIGURA QUASI COLUMBAM
 IN EUM ET VOCEM DE CAELO
 FACTAM FILIUS MEUS EST UI ECOHODIE
 GENUITE EXATAUTEM IHS QUASI ANNO RUM XXX
 INCIPENS UT VIDEBATUR ESSE

FILIUS	IOSEPH
QUI FUIT	IACOB
QUI FUIT	MATTHAN
QUI FUIT	ELEAZAR
QUI FUIT	ELIUD
QUI FUIT	IACHIN
QUI FUIT	SADOC
QUI FUIT	AZOR

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P Q R S T U X Y Z

a b c d e f g h i l m n o p q r s t u x z

υιος	Ιωσηφ
του	Ιακωβ
του	Μαθθαν
του	Ελεαζαρ
του	Ελιουδ
του	Ιαχειν
του	Σαδωκ
του	Αζωρ

Cælum. Et descendere Sp̄m Sanctum, corporali figura, quasi columbam, in eum: et vocem de cælo factam: Filius meus est tu, ego hodie genui te. Erat autem JHS quasi annorum xxx. incipiens, ut videbatur esse filius JOSEPH, qui fuit JACOB, qui fuit MATTHAN, qui fuit ELEAZAR, qui fuit ELIUD, qui fuit JACHIN, qui fuit SADOE, qui fuit AZOR.

Greek MSS. were generally written in capitals till the eighth century, and some so late as the ninth, though there is a striking difference in the forms of the letters after the seventh century; several besides these above-mentioned, are deposited in our public and private libraries: many more are preserved in various foreign libraries: we shall point out a few of them.—The fragment of St. Paul's Epistles, N° 202, inter MSS. Coislinianæ, in the Royal Library at Paris, written in the fifth or sixth century. The fine copy of the Greek Bible in the Vatican Library, N° 1209, written in the beginning of the sixth century. The famous book in the library of St. Basil in Switzerland, N° 145, written in the seventh century; and the Apocalypse in the same library, N° 105. The Codex Colbertinus written in the eighth century, partly in round and partly in square characters. The readings upon the Gospels, in the Vatican Library, N° 1067, written also in the eighth century. The Four Gospels in the Royal Library at Paris, (inter MSS. Colbert. N° 5149), written likewise in the eighth century: specimens of all which, are given by Blanchin, in his *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*, part i. from p. 492 to p. 542; and part ii. p. 591.

f See *Evang. Quadruplex Latinæ versionis antiquæ, Romæ, 1748.*

We are of opinion that mss. written in capitals, without any division of words, may be older than they are supposed to be; for mss. that were written before the seventh century, differ very little from each other. In all the Greek mss. above-mentioned are both round and cornered letters. The letters of ancient Greek inscriptions are usually square or cornered; those of the most ancient mss. are many of them round; the reason is obvious, because cornered letters are more easily carved upon hard substances, and round letters are more expeditiously made upon papyrus, vellum, or other soft materials.

Great alterations took place in the mode of Greek writing in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries: towards the latter end of the last, small letters were generally adopted. See specimens ten, eleven, and twelve, in plate II.

The tenth specimen in plate II. is taken from a fragment of an Evangelisterium in the Bodleian Library at Oxford; (ms. Laud C. 92), which may be read;

Σα ΙΗ : ΖΗ. Σα ΟΙΟΝΘΕ

Ἡ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος

ὅτι πᾶς ο ὕψων ε-

αυτον ταπεινω . . .

This ms. was written in the ninth century; the characters are very similar to ms. N° 1522, in the Vatican library, a specimen of which may be seen in Blanchinus's Evangeliarium Quadruplex, pars i. fol. 492. pl. II.

The eleventh specimen in the same plate is taken from an Evangelisterium in the Bodleian library, (inter mss. Baroc. N° 202): this ms. was written in the tenth century, and is to be read as follows;

^a This rule is not without exception; for occasionally, round letters are to be found upon Greek inscriptions. For instance; upon the Epitaph on Marcus Modius, in the time of Augustus, preserved at Wilton, some sigmas are round, and some are cornered.—The same may be observed, with respect to the most ancient inscription on the sarcophagus,

in the same collection, where Ceres is teaching the method of sowing corn; there is not only the round sigma, but the round epsilon also; and this inscription was made in the time of their best work at Athens.—Vide the Wilton ms. in my library, p. 130, 131.—Other instances of round and cornered letters upon marbles, appear in the Marmor. Oxon. &c.

Εκ κατὰ Μάρκο
 Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος + ὅστις
 θέλει ὀπίσω
 Με ἀκολουθεῖν
 ἀπαρνησάσθω ε . . .

The twelfth and last specimen in plate II. is taken from a ms. in the same Library, written in the year 904 or 905, and is to be thus read;

Κανόνες τῶν σ̄ ἁγίων πρῶν τῶν ἐν ἐφῶσῳ
 συνελθόντων . ὁ πρῶτον
 Ἡ τις ἐστὶν τρίτη οἰκουμένη συνῶδ̄

Greek mss. written in and since the eleventh century, are in small letters, and very much resemble each other, though exceptions to this rule occasionally, yet rarely occur. In the library of Emanuel College in Cambridge, is a ms. fragment of the Psalms, written in very singular characters, partly Greek and partly Latin; a specimen of which is given in plate VI. N° 2; which may be read thus;

Εἰς τὸ τέλος ὑπὲρ τῶν
 ληνῶν ψαλμός τῷ ἀσαφ̄
 Ἀγαλλιάσθῃ τῷ θῶ τῷ βοῖ
 θῶ ἱμῶν : ἀλαλαξίτε τῷ θῶ
 Ἡακῶβ
 Λαβετε ψαλμῶν καὶ δοτε τυμ-
 πανον ψαλτιρίον τερπνον
 μετὰ κιθάρης
 Σαλπισατε ἐν νεομνία σαλ-
 πιγγί : ἐν εὐσημῷ ἡμέρα εὐρ-
 τοῖς ἡμῶν

Flourished letters sometimes, though seldom, occur in Greek mss. of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries: those in plate VI. N° 3, are taken from a Psalter in the Bodleian Library, ms. Cromwell, (N° 13). This ms. was written in the year 1405.

Ἐξ ἐκ συνελθόντων.

V. Catal. mss. Angl. et Hib. p. 42, N° 289.

There is a great variety of abbreviations in Greek mss. written between the tenth and the fifteenth centuries. Those in plate VI. N° 4, are taken from Cromwell's Psalter above-mentioned, and from another Psalter amongst Sir Thomas Bodley's mss. in the same library (NE. B. 2, n. 17) written in the tenth century. These mss. contain, not only a great variety of abbreviations, but also a multitude of symbols and arbitrary marks, which are well worthy the attention of those, who are curious in Greek mss.^d A *Lexicon Diplomaticum* for the Greek abbreviations, from Greek mss. upon the plan of that published by Waltherus for the Latin, would be highly useful.^e

A *Lexicon* of this kind was compiled by John Caravalla, a Circasian, for Dr. Mead, which was presented to me by the late lord Sandys, and is in my mss. library.

Accents were used to mark the time and duration of sounds, heard in succession; they are rarely to be found in Greek mss. till the seventh or eighth centuries. The most ancient Greek poets were well versed in rhythm, and accentuation; both Plato and Pythagoras speak of the science. Hephæstion, who lived in the time of the emperor Verus, in the second century, composed rhythmical canons, which are still to be found in his *Manual*.^f Aristides Quintilianus treats very particularly of accents or rhythm. The ingenious Dr. Burney hath given us many curious particulars concerning the science of rhythm among the ancients.^g We are fully of opinion, that the use of accents among the Greeks, is much more ancient than some writers will allow.

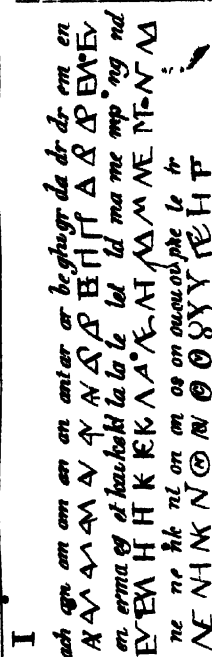
• • •
 ARCADIAN LETTERS. The Arcadians used the Ionic manner of writing in early times. It is easy to conceive, that the Corinthians were soon acquainted with the mode of writing practised by their neighbours the Arcadians, as Arcadia was the inland part, and Corinth was situated upon the Isthmus, of Peloponnesus. Damaratus

^d Concerning abbreviations in Greek mss. see Montfaucon's *Palæographia Græca*, p. 345 to 370.

^e *Lexicon Dipl.* Gottingen, 1756, F^o.

^f The work is *de re metrica*, Suidas Jul. Capitolinus.

^g See his *General History of Music*, vol. i. from p. 71 to p. 86.



Χαίτε τε τῷ ἡρώϊ λιβα, ὅτε τῷ
 πωλον: τῷ ἡριον τερω ομ
 ρε τῷ λι θαῖρας:·
 Σαυτωίσα τε ἐν βοήνῳ σαυ
 τωίρι: ἐν ὧς ἡρώϊ ἡρώϊ βοῦ
 τοῖς ἡρώϊ:

[illegible]

of Corinth brought these letters to Tarquinium, where he settled; and his son Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of the Romans, caused them to be established in his dominions, about the year before Christ 560. The Arcadian alphabet consists only of nineteen letters; the G, of the most ancient Roman form, stands in the place of the C; V, V, in the place of F; C in the place of K; and F, W, X, Y, Z, are not in this alphabet. The Arcadian alphabet in plate I. is taken from the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*, plate VII. p. 654. The letters are the same as those upon the Eugubian tables, which are written in Latin characters.

OF THE LATIN OR ROMAN LETTERS. The most respectable authors both ancient and modern, are generally agreed, that the Latin letters are derived from the Greek. Pliny (lib. vii. c. 58. *de literis antiquis*), says, *Veteres Græcas fuisse easdem penè quæ nunc sunt Latinæ*; and Tacitus (Annal. lib. ii.) asserts, *Et forma literis Latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum*. The Latin alphabet is said to have originally consisted of sixteen letters, as mentioned in plate I. The G at first was supplied by C, which stands in its place, and K was continued in the old Roman alphabet; but after G was added, C was generally used for it, and then K was thought a superfluous letter. The letters F and H, are frequently excluded the Latin alphabet. The Latins, in ancient times, had no sound for the V, but that of a vowel: they supplied the Greek τ by their V, when they wrote Greek words in Latin characters.

The consonant V, was the Æolic Digamma, and answered in power to the Phenician Vau, and the Latin F. The Latins used the F, to express the sound of the V consonant, as *Fotum*, *Firgo*, for *Votum*, *Virgo*; but when they used V for a consonant as well as a vowel, it afterwards became an F, or the P aspirated, answering to the Greek ϕ . The Greeks rendered the V consonant, by the diphthong *ov*.

The Q was reckoned a double letter CV, and was anciently pronounced like C; the Sabines and Etrurians never used it, says Mr. Jackson, (vol. iii. p. 177); but it was an ancient Latin letter, and, though not in the primitive Latin alphabet, yet it is in the Arcadian. Peter Diaconus, the grammarian; (inter Auctor. ling. Lat. p. 1498), says, that

Augustus first took the letters Y and Z from the Greeks, which were not used by the Romans before his time; but, instead of them, they wrote SS for Z, and I for Y. Priscian, in his grammar, says, Y was added to the five Latin vowels, for the notation of Greek proper names.

Peter Diaconus relates, that the letter X was introduced into the Roman alphabet, in the time of Augustus; and that before his reign, the Romans supplied the want of it, by the letters C and S. Peter is mistaken; for we find the letter X, in the Duileian pillar, inscribed in the year of Rome 494, and 259 before Christ. See more examples in Norris's Cenotap. Pisan. (p. 447 to 449.) Mr. Jackson shews that the Y was also used before the reign of Augustus, though probably it was not much older.

The double *UU* is a letter unknown, as to form and place, in the alphabets of the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and Goths. This letter is peculiar to the northern languages and people, and particularly to the nations who are of Teutonic and Slavonic original.

Having thus briefly spoke of the Roman letters, we shall now speak of their writing in different ages.—To begin with writing in *capitals*, by which is generally understood, a superior and majestic kind of writing; the name is derived from the custom of placing such characters at the heads of books, chapters, and paragraphs. The most ancient mss. were in capitals; and characters of this kind were in general use for records, &c. from the earliest times, to the middle of the fifth century; though smaller characters were occasionally used, for ordinary subjects that required dispatch.

Writing in capitals may be divided into various kinds; into *square*, which are found interspersed in several ancient monumental inscriptions, and are very common on seals until the eleventh and twelfth centuries; *round*, which were used by the ancients in books and public monuments, and were preferred to the square in the thirteenth century; *sharp*, which consist of oblique and angular lines; *cubical*, which are very long, and which have been used as initials in some mss. *Elegant* capitals, which are found on ancient marble and brass monuments, in scarce mss. and the titles of the best printed books. The ancients chiefly used them on coins.

These fine characters began to acquire graceful proportion, and make near approaches to perfection, two centuries before Cæsar. They had the sole possession of medals, in which no other letters were admitted; and attained to the highest degree of beauty and elegance under Augustus. Their forms were fixed and preserved, without any material change, to the fifth century; for though they were much less generally used from the third century, they are not supposed to have been disused entirely, before the time of Theodosius the younger, who reigned to the year 450.

The *Rustic* capitals were bold, negligent, and unequal, composed of strokes generally oblique, sometimes extravagant, and always inelegant. They appear to have constantly had admirers in Rome, and continually displayed themselves on bronze and marble, though entirely excluded from medals. Towards the middle of the second century they were so far improved, as to have sometimes no displeasing effect; but, when compared with elegant writing, they still appeared barbarous. The general good taste that had displayed itself, even in rustic writing, was soon followed by a glaring depravity, though with similar gradations. It was introduced into mss. and constantly maintained its ground in them, during a long succession of ages; whilst regular and elegant writing had a much shorter reign. It must, however, be confessed, that it is rarely called Rustic with propriety in mss. and only on account of a certain analogy in the cut and form: it flourished there for five or six centuries, with a degree of elegance which it had not displayed on either metal or stone.

Writing in Rustic capitals was constantly preserved, and with less alteration than other modes, until the tenth or eleventh century: for though Charlemagne, with judicious zeal, had introduced a happy change in writing, this however was still in use in mss.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries it lost a part of the advantages which supported it; and, being much corrupted afterwards, was at length confounded with the modern Gothic. This is understood to be confined to inscriptions, and to the titles of mss.; it is not to be supposed that any manuscript was written entirely in capitals in the times last mentioned.

As to the forms of those letters which are termed *National Capitals*, they are nothing more than the Roman capitals, adapted to the taste and fancy of different nations. It would be too tedious to enter into a discussion of all those different variations; it is sufficient to observe, that there are very few mss. posterior to the sixth century, entirely written in capitals; and it is to be presumed, that there can be none of a later date than the eighth. The titles of the pages in capitals in a ms. that is likewise in capitals, are strong indications of very high antiquity.

The four first specimens of plate VII. are from mss. written in Roman capitals.

N° I. is taken from a ms. in the Royal library at Paris (N° 152, fol. 30). *Explicit Commentariorum in Hieremia Liber sextus feliciter. Amen.*

N° II. is taken from a ms. in the Abbey of St. Germain de Pres, (N° 718). These characters are somewhat rustic. *De eo quod scriptum est haec lex, peccati in loco in quo jugulantur holocausta occident, et id quo peccati est, et cetera.*

N° III. is taken from a very ancient ms. in the Royal library at Paris, (N° 8084); and is written in rustic capitals, which characters are entirely different from the writing called *Uncial*, or rounded letters.

HYMNUS OMNIS HORAE.

Da puer plectrum choraeis

Ut canam fidelibus

Dulce carmen & melodum,

Gesta Xpi insignia:

Hunc Camoena nostra solum

Pangat, hunc laudet lyra.

Xps est, quem Rex sacerdos

Ad futurum protinus.

N° IV. is taken from the ms. Palatin. Virgil, (N° 1631), in the Vatican library, written in the fourth or fifth century.

Te quoque magna pales, et te memorande canemus

Pastor ab Amphyso suos silvae manesque Lycae.

The fifth specimen, is taken from the famous Florence Virgil, written in the year 498. In this ms. the i is used for the e; as OMNIS for omnes,

EXPLICIT COMMENTARIORUM
IN HIEREMIA LIBER SEXTUS
FELICITER AMEN

II DE EO QUO DESCRIBITUR EST HAEC LEVITICA IN LOCO
IN QUO IUGALANTUR HOLOCAUSTA OCCIDENTE ET
QUO PECCAT EST ET CETERA

III HYMNVS OMNIBUS HORAE
DAPUERELICTUMICKORAIISUTCANAMEIDELIBUS
DULCE CARMEN ET MELODUM, GESTA XPI IN SIGNA
HUNC AMO IN ANO STRASOLIM, PANGAT, KWCLAUDEIT
-RA XPS ES QUI MREX SACERDOS ADITURUM PRO TINUS

IV TE QUOQUE MAGNATULES ILLE MEMORANDICANEMUS
EASTORABAMREYTSOSUOSSILVAMANESQUE ITCAEL

V HAESITATERIDIVALESTRYMCECINISSEPOEILAM DUMSEDETETGRACILIFISCELLAMTEXI
THIBISCOPIERIDESUOSHAECEFIETIS MAXIMAGALLO. GALLOCIUSAMORTANTUM
MIHICRESCITIN HORAS. QUANTUMVIRENOUOMIRIDISSESUBICITINUS

Exemplar Lit. Capital. Longobardorum ex MSS. 100: 11: 71. 00.
I HAEC IN UI NI TREUERIS IN UNO LIBRO SCRIP TU. SIC INCI
-PIENTE DNI NI. I HU XPI, ET RELIQUA. DNI. NI, I HU XPI

II DOCE TE GEHGES BAPTIZANTES EOS IN NOMINE PATRIS
ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI, ET QUERBORUM ORDINE DIFFERENTIA OMNIUM

III LONGINI MILITIS. ET CENTURIONIS. QUI DNO LATERE
LANCEA PERCUSSIT

*Exemplar Literarum Capitalium in vetustissimo Codice Regularum S. Benedicti
in Bibliotheca Bodleiana aservato. Inter M.S.S. D. Hutton N.º 93. Tit. VII. p. 80.*

A A B C E O O
F f b b l l a æ
N n u o p q
S S S S S S S T
u u y u. non y

and the *ae* are always distinct, and not *æ*; the *d* is frequently written instead of *b*.

Haec sat erit divae vestrum cecinisse poetam
Dum sedet. Et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco
Pierides, vos haec facietis maxima gallo.
Gallo cujus amor tantum mihi crescit in horas.
Quantum vere novo, viridis se subicit alnus.

The eighth plate contains specimens of the *capital* letters used in the most ancient copy of the *Rule* of St. Benedict, which is said to have been brought into England by St. Austin in the sixth century, and is now preserved in the Bodleian library among Lord Hatton's mss. (N° 93,) of which ms. we shall speak presently.

This plate furnishes us with curious examples of the capital letters used in Italy, in the decline of the Roman empire.

ROMAN UNCIALS. The term Uncial is of no great antiquity; it was introduced by those who have treated of ancient writings, to distinguish those mss. which are written in large round characters, from those written in pure Capitals. The word Uncial, probably took its rise from the mss. that were written in such letters as are generally used for the heads and titles of chapters, which were called by the Librarii, or Book-writers, *Litteræ Initiales*, but were not capitals, which words the ignorant Monks and Schoolmen mistook for *Litteræ Unciales*.*

In plate XVI. there are both *Capitals*, *Initials*, and *Small Letters*; and also in plate XVIII. (N° 3, and 5.)

Striking as the disparity appears between Capital and Uncial Letters, they have been frequently confounded; the former are *square*, and the latter for the most part *round*. It is true, indeed, that Uncials are large, and so far resemble Capitals; but they are otherwise not at all similar. The

* Mr. Casley truly says, that the letters *i*, *m*, *n*, and *u*, are usually written both in old and modern mss. so as not to be distinguished, when they come together, but by the sense: thus the word *Minimum*, is written with fifteen parallel strokes, all alike, joined together. This might easily occasion the mistake of writing *unciale*, for *initiale*; for, as to the difference of *i* and *c*, most writers from the twelfth

to the fifteenth century made very little, and some none at all; and even those who did make a difference, commonly wrote *initiale* with a *c*. In the twelfth century, some writers began to make a small hair-stroke over the *i*, sometimes straight, but oftener oblique, which dwindled into a single point in the fifteenth century. See the preface to the Catalogue of the Royal Library, pages 8, & 16.

characteristic difference of Uncials, consists in the roundness of the nine following letters, viz. A, D, E, G, H, M, Q, T, U; the rest of the Letters B, C, F, I, K, L, N, O, P, S, X, Y, Z, are common to both Uncials and Capitals: this is proved by comparing the Letters in plates VII. and VIII. with those in plates IX. and X.

Uncial writing began to be adopted about the middle of the fifth century; and, as it required little ingenuity and much patience, it was preferred to the running hand in barbarous times. From the close of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth, Uncial writing generally prevailed, except amongst men of business in ordinary transactions, which required dispatch.

If a ms. is entirely in Uncials, it may very well be supposed prior to the close of the ninth century. A manuscript in Uncials, without any ornaments to the titles of the books, at the beginning of a treatise, or round the initials of a paragraph or break, is of good antiquity.

Ornaments to the titles of pages, and ornamented letters, are found as early as the sixth century; they were much in vogue in the eighth and ninth, as will appear by inspecting plates IX. XIV. XV. XVII. and XVIII. If the titles are in small Uncials, in a ms. of true Uncials, they are marks of at least equal antiquity: See plate IX. N° I.

The fourth and fifth plates contain specimens of Uncial letters written in the fifth century, which have been spoken of before. The first specimen in the ninth plate, is taken from a copy of the rules of St. Benedict, preserved in the Bodleian library amongst Lord Hatton's mss. (N° 93,) written in the fifth, or in the beginning of the sixth century, and is to be read thus:

LXVIII. Ut in Monas-
terio non praesumat
alter alterum defendere
recavendum est ne quavis occasione
praesumat alter alium defendere
Monachum in Monasterio.

The second specimen, in the same plate, is taken from a psalter in the Cottonian library, (*vesp.* A. 1.) which is reported to have been brought into England by St. Augustin.

“ Verba cantici hujus in die qua eripuit eum Dñs
“ De manu omnium icōrum ejus, et de manu Saul.”

LXVIII UT IN MONAST
TERION PRÆSUMAT
ALTER ALTERUM DEFENDERE
ECCLIAUENDUM
EST NEQUA
RUIS OCCA
SIONE PRÆSU
MATA ALTERALI
UM DEFENDERE
MONACHUM IN
MONASTERIO
A A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P
Q R S T U V X Y . X X .

Ex Bibliotheca Cottoniana, VESP. A. I

VERBA CANTICIS HUIUS IN DIE QUAE ERIPUIT EOM Dñs
DE MANU OMNIUM INICORUM EIUS ET DE MANU SAUL
ET DIXIT.

Q UANTUM DIGNUM
EST IN TE Dñe
VIRTUS MEA; ONE PIUM MENTUM
MEUM ET REFUGIUM MEUM
ET LIBERATOR MEUS Dñs MEUS, ADIUTOR MEUS
SPERO IN EUO

P ENA EST OCULOS
FABULA TESTIMONIA TUAE
IDEO SCRUTATA EST EA ANIMAE
DECLARATIO SERMONUM TUORUM
ILLUMINAT ME
ET INTELLECTUM DAT PARUM HIS

IN PRINCIPIO ERAT
 VERBUM.
 ET VERBUM ERAT
 APUD DEUM ET
 ERAT VERBUM
 HOC ERAT IN PRIN
 CIPIO APUD DEUM
 OMNIA PER IPSUM
 FACTA SUNT
 ET SINE IPSO FACTUM
 EST NIHIL,
 QUOD FACTUM EST
 IN IPSO VITA ERAT
 ET VITA ERAT LUX HO
 MINUM
 ET LUX IN TENEBRIS
 LUCET
 ET TENEBRAE CUM
 NON COMPREHEN
 DERUNT

FURTHERMORE
 AD CUIUS NOMEN
 ERAT IOHANNES
 HIC VENIT IN TESTI
 MONIUM DICTES

Ex Lib. Evang. in Bibl. Bodl. Med. sine supra D. Art. 99

IN PRINCIPIO ERAT
 VERBUM;
 ET VERBUM ERAT APUD
 DEUM;
 ET DEUS ERAT VERBUM;
 HOC ERAT IN PRINCIPIO
 APUD DEUM;
 OMNIA PER IPSUM FAC
 TA SUNT;
 ET SINE IPSO FACTUM
 EST NIHIL;
 QUOD FACTUM EST.
 IN IP SO VITA ERAT;
 ET VITA ERAT LUX HO
 MINUM;

A B C D E F G H I L M N O P

R S T U V X E H

a b c d e e f g g h i l l m n n o p

q r s t u x y z x v

ET DIXIT

Dilegam tibi Dñe virtus mea, Dñe firmamentum meum, et refugium meum et liberator meus, Deus meus, adjutor meus, sperabo in eum.

PENA est oculos

Mirabilia testimonia tua Dñe
ideo scrutata est ea anima mea
Declaratio sermonum tuorum
inluminat me, et intellectum dat
parvulis.

The tenth plate contains specimens of two manuscripts written in Roman Uncials, which St. Gregory the Great sent into England by St. Augustin, in the sixth century: these were preserved in what was called the *Bibliotheca Gregoriana*, in St. Augustin's abbey, at Canterbury, and were always considered as the books of St. Augustin, as the annals of that church testify. At the time of the dissolution of religious houses, Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, removed the first of these mss. to the library of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, where it now remains. The second fell into the hands of the Lord Hatton, and was placed with the rest of his mss. in the Bodleian library.

The specimens here given, are taken from the beginning of S. John's gospel, and are to be read thus:

In principio erat verbum et verbum erat apud Dñm, et Dñs erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Dñm. Omnia per ipsū facta sunt, et sine ipso factū est nihil quod factum est. In ipso vita erat et vita erat lux hominum, et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebrae cum non comprehenderunt.

Fuit homo missus a Dō cui nomen erat Johannes. Hic venit in testimonium ut
tes

The second specimen in plate XIV. is taken from a part of the gospels in the church of Durham, written in Roman Uncials in the sixth century.

Inde et secuti sunt eum
Multi et curavit eos
Omnes et praecepit eis
Ne manifestum eum

. . . Num quid hic est filius David
Pharisaei autem audientes dixerunt hic non jecit
Demones nisi in Belzebub.

The eleventh plate contains a specimen of a most ancient copy of the four gospels preserved in the Harleian library, (N° 1775,) which Mr. Wanley, with great reason says, was written in Italy above eleven hundred years ago.*

Quoniam quidam multi
conati sunt ordi-
nare narrationē
quae in nobis con-
pletæ sunt rerū
Sicut tradiderunt
nobis
qui ab initio ipsi vide-
runt et minis-
tri fuerunt
Sermonis
Visum est et mihi
assecuto a principio
omnibus
diligenter ex ordine
tibi scribere
optimo Theofile
ut cognoscas eorum
verborum de
quibus erudi-
tus es veritatē
Fuit in diebus Hero-
dis Regis Judeae
Sacerdos quidam
nomine Zaccharias.†

The nature of the vellum on which these mss. in Roman Uncials are written, the forms of the letters, and the colour of the ink, differ greatly from the mss. which are known to have been written in England, as will appear hereafter. Johannes Diaconus, in his life of Gregory the Great,

* See the catalogue of the Harl. mss. N° 1775. I conceive this ms. was written about the latter end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh century.

† The orthography of the original, though incorrect, is preserved.

Ex vetustissimo libro quatuor Evangeliorum

in Bibliotheca Harleiana N^o 1775.

QUONIAM QUID COMMUNI
 CONATI SUNT ORI
 NARE NARRATIONE
 QUAE IN NOBIS COM
 PLETAESUNT RE
 . SICUT TRADIDERUNT
 NOBIS
 QUI AB INITIO IPSI UIDE
 RUNT OMNIS
 SCRIPTURAE
 SERMONIS
 VISUM EST ET OMNI
 APOSTOLO A PRINCIPIO
 OMNIBUS
 DILIGENTER EX ORDINE
 DESCRIBERE
 OPTIMO THEOPHILE
 UT COGNOSCAS EORUM
 UERBORUM DE
 QUIBUS ERUDIT
 IESUS UERITATE
 FUIT IN DIEBUS HERO
 DIS REGIS IUDAEA
 . SACERDOS QUI DAVID
 . NOMINE ZACHARIAS

Nota sive Sigla

1 <i>bs</i>	6 <i>Ⓞ</i>	10 <i>x</i>
2 <i>bd</i>	7 <i>Ⓢ</i>	11 <i>th</i>
3 <i>Γ</i>	8 <i>† or c</i>	12 <i>ld</i>
4 <i>7</i>	9 <i>b</i>	13 <i>vr^o</i>
5 <i>R</i>	<i>Vide p. 172.</i>	

(cap. 37,) mentions the books which that Pope sent into England by St. Augustin.

In the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, many MSS. were written in Italy, as well as in other parts of Europe, in characters which approach nearer to small letters than those last described, called DEMI-UNCIALS. This form of writing was discontinued in the ninth century, and though it had several letters of the Uncial kind, yet there is great difference in the forms of many of them, as will appear by a comparison of plates IX. X. and XI. with the specimen marked N° 2, in plate XV. which is taken from fragments of the gospels of St. John and St. Luke, in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: in the beginning of the book is the following passage, in the hand writing of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. *Fragmentum quatuor Evangeliorum. Hic liber olim missus a Gregorio Papa ad Augustinum Archiep' sed sic mutilatus.*

This specimen is taken from St. John's gospel, chap. i. ver. 6, and 7, and is to be read,

Fuit homo missus a Dō, cui nomen erat
Johannis. Hic venit in testimonium, ut
testimonium perhiberet de Lumino, ut
omnes crederent per illum. Non erat

The words in this MS. are sometimes divided, and many letters are parallel with each other, as in the words *per illum*.

ROMAN SMALL LETTERS. The *small* letters succeeded the *Demi-Uncial*, and continued with many variations till the invention of printing: they resemble very much the small characters, which our printers call *Roman*. Many circumstances concur, to prove clearly, that they were occasionally used before the subversion of the Roman empire, in affairs of business which required dispatch. They were afterwards adopted by all the nations of Europe, under different forms, according to their respective taste and genius. Small letters were generally used in the ninth century. The psalter of Alfred the Great, now in my library, is written in Roman small letters, probably by some ecclesiastic from

• See some account of the MSS. engraven in plates VIII. IX. and X. in Bede's Ecclesiastical History, by Smith, vi. c. 29. app. p. 690, and in the Catal. lib. septentrionalis,

by H. Wanley, p. 171, 172, 173. See also Nasmith's Catal. of the MSS. in C. C. Coll. library, Cambridge, p. 320.

Italy in his service; a specimen of which is given in plate XIX. N° 6.^b *Dñe exaudi orationē meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat.* Another specimen of Roman small letters of the tenth century is given in the twentieth plate, from a psalter in the Lambeth library, (N° 1.) *Dñe exaudi orationē meam, et clamor meus ad te veniat; non avertas faciem tuam a me, in quacumq; die tribulor inclina ad me autem tuā.*

MIXED CHARACTERS. During the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, many mss. were written in England in characters similar to those used in France and in Italy in those ages; they are of a mixed nature, and are partly Roman, partly Longobardic, and partly Saxon. These mss. were probably written by ecclesiastics who had been educated abroad. These observations will be verified, by an inspection of plate XIX. N° 2, 4, and 5, and the alphabets in plates XII. and XIII. See also plate XX. N° 7, and several specimens of charters in plate XXIII. which corroborate what is here asserted.

Having spoken of the Roman letters, the rest of the alphabets which are supposed to be derived from the Greek, now require our attention.

The alphabet of the ancient Gaulish letters is given in the first plate, and we have nothing to add concerning them, to what hath already been said at p. 56, 57, in the foregoing chapter.

The ancient Spaniards, before their intercourse with the Romans, used letters nearly Greek. Don Nassarre, principal librarian to the king of Spain, has given us this alphabet, consisting of twenty-four letters, taken from coins and other ancient monuments.^c This last-mentioned alphabet, is to be distinguished from those letters which were afterwards brought into Spain by the Moors or Saracens, and which are immediately derived from the Arabic,^d and do not in the least resemble those given us by Don Nassarre.

ANCIENT GOTHIC. The ancient Goths were converted to Christianity by the Greek priests, and they probably introduced their letters with their religion, about the reign of Gallienus.

^b The title is written in Roman capitals of the ninth century. The interlineary Saxon version shall be noticed in its proper place.

^c Vide Bibl. Univ. de la Polygraph. Esp. prolog. fol. 6. et seq.

^d See N. T. Dipl. vol. i. p. 675.

Towards the middle of the third century, Ascholius, bishop of Thessalonica, and a Greek priest named *Audius*, spread Christianity among the Goths; the former of these is much extolled by Basil the Great, and the latter by Epiphanius.* The ancient Gothic alphabet is given in the first plate, which consisted of sixteen letters; they are so similar to the Greek, that their derivation cannot be doubted.

Those writers are certainly mistaken, who attribute the invention of the Gothic letters to Ulphilas, bishop of Moesia, who lived in the fourth century. The gospels translated by him into the Gothic language, and written in ancient Gothic characters about the year 370, were formerly kept in the library of the monastery of Werden; but this ms. is now preserved in the library at Upsal, and is known among the learned, by the title of the Silver Book of Ulphilas, because it is bound in massy silver. Several editions of this ms. have been printed. See a specimen of it in Hickes's Thesaurus, vol. i. pref. p.8. Dr. Hickes positively disallows this translation to be Ulphil's, but says it was made by some Teuton or German, either as old, or perhaps older than Ulphil; but whether this was so or not, the characters are apparently of Greek original.

Figure.	Power.	Figure.	Power.
Α	A.	Ω	O.
Β	B.	Π	P.
Γ	G.	Θ	Q.
Δ	D.	Κ	R.
Ε	E.	Σ	S.
Ϝ	F.	Τ	T.
Ϟ	G. J. or Y.	Φ	TH.
Η	H.	Υ	U.
Ι & I	I.	Ϛ	CW. and some times in the middle of words c.
Κ	K.	Ϙ	W. and Ϟψιζω.
Λ	L.	Χ	CH. or X.
Μ	M.	Ζ	Z.
Ν	N.		

* See Mascou's Hist. of the ancient Germans, vol. i. p. 383, and vol. ii. p. 412.

RUNIC. Authors are much divided, as to the antiquity of the Runic characters; some suppose them to be very ancient, whilst others contend, that they are more modern than the ancient Gothic; several writers affirm, that they were brought from Asia by the celebrated Woden. Olaus Wormius and Rudbeck contend, that they are older than the Greek. Mr. Wise (p. 126) says, that the Runic letters are found on coins, and on stone monuments, some of which may be near two thousand years old. He also supposes this alphabet to have been exceedingly ancient, and that it was formed from some alphabet of the Greeks, whilst it consisted of sixteen letters only, and before they had left the Eastern way of writing, from the right hand.

The judicious Celsus was of opinion, that the Runic letters were nothing more than Roman letters, with the curves changed into straight lines, for the ease of engraving on hard substances.¹ The celebrated Mr. Gibbon, author of the History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (vol. i. p. 265,) says, that the oldest *Runic* inscriptions are supposed to be of the third century; and he adds, that the most ancient writer, who mentions the Runic characters, is Venantius Fortunatus, who lived towards the end of the sixth century. Our opinion on the evidence before us, is, that the report of Woden having brought the *Runic* letters from Asia, is intirely fabulous; that the tales of Rudbeck and Olaus Wormius, do not deserve the least attention; that Mr. Wise, though a respectable writer, is mistaken as to the antiquity of the Runic letters; that the opinion of the learned Celsus is nearly true, and that the Runic characters are composed partly of ancient Gothic and Greek letters, and partly of Roman, deformed and corrupted, probably by the Necromancers of the north, who used them in their spells and incantations, to which they were greatly addicted. The forms of several Runic letters compared with the Greek and Gothic alphabets, as given in plate I. sufficiently prove this observation. For instance, the Runic F or Fei, is a rude imitation of the Roman F, with the same vocal powers. The O or Oys, is an inverted digamma, with the power of the Roman U, that is of *ou* or *W*. R or Ridhur, is evidently the Roman R, with the same powers. I or Iis, is the Gothic and Roman I. S' or Sol, is a resemblance of the

¹ See Pelloutier's Hist. des Celtes, l. ii. c. 11.

ancient Greek Σ with the same power. T or Tyr is an imitation of the Greek Tau, or Roman T. B or Biarkan is the Greek Beta, or Roman B; and L or Lagur appears to have been taken from the Grecian Lambda. We are of opinion, that the resemblances above pointed out, sufficiently evince, that the Runic characters are derived from the Greek, Gothic, and Roman letters.

In the year 1001, the Swedes were persuaded by the Pope to lay aside the Runic letters, and to adopt the Roman in their room. In the year 1115, the Runic letters were condemned in Spain, by the council of Toledo. They were abolished in Denmark in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and in Iceland soon after.

The order of the old Runic alphabet, which consisted of sixteen letters, was as follows: F, U, D, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, L, M, YR. It is not known when the order of the Runic alphabet was confounded, but we do not suppose that it is of greater antiquity upon that account.

COPTIC LETTERS. The ancient Coptic alphabet, as given in plate I. is manifestly derived from the Greek, to which several letters were afterwards, added to express *sounds* which the Greeks had not. The modern Coptic alphabet consists of the following thirty-two letters:

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
Α α	Alpha	A.	Π π	Pi	P.
Β β	Beta	B. V.	Ρ ρ	Ro	R.
Γ γ	Gamma	G.	Σ σ	Sima	S.
Δ δ	Dalda	D.	Τ τ	Tau	T.
Ε ε	Ei	E.	Υ υ	Ypsilon	Y. U.
Ϛ ϛ	So	S.	Φ φ	Phi	Ph.
Ζ ζ	Zita	Z.	Χ χ	Chi	Ch Græc.
Η η	Hita	I. Æ.	Ω ω	O	O long.
Θ θ	Thita	Th.	Ϙ ϙ	Shei	Sh.
Ι ι	Iauda	I.	Ϝ ϝ	Fei	F.
Κ κ	Kappa	K.	Ϟ ϟ	Khei	Kh.
Λ λ	Lauda	L.	Ϡ ϡ	Hori	H.
Μ μ	Mi	M.	Ϝ ϝ	Janja	J.
Ν ν	Ni	N.	Ϟ ϟ	Shima	Sh.
Ξ ξ	Xi	X.	Ϡ ϡ	Dhei	Dh.
Ο ο	O,	O short.	Ϝ ϝ	Epsi	Ps.

^r Our readers will find the ancient Runic alphabet in the first plate. See many Runic alphabets in Hickes's Thesaurus, vol. ii. and N. T. de Dipl. tom. i. p. 710.

ETHIOPIC LETTERS.

Mr Edward Bernard derives the Ethiopic alphabet from the Coptic, but the forms, names, numbers, and powers of the Ethiopic letters differ so greatly from the Coptic, that we are of opinion they are not derived from that source, though we placed this alphabet under the Coptic, in the table at page 50. The Ethiopic alphabet is Syllabic, which makes its characters more numerous than any other except the Chinese. The learned Ludolphus was of opinion, that the Ethiopian letters were invented by the Axumites or Ethiopians themselves, and that they were much older than the Kufic characters of the Arabs. It is observable that the Ethiopians wrote from the left to the right, contrary to the custom of the Arabians, which induces us to believe that their alphabet was not derived from that of the Arabs, as some have imagined. When we reflect on the names and forms of several of these letters, it may not seem improbable that some of them were derived from the Samaritan and ancient Syriac.* The Ethiopic alphabet, as given by Ludolphus, is as follows:

Figure.	Name.	Power.	Figure.	Name.	Power.
Ⲁ:	Alpf	A.	Ⲁ:	Lawy	L.
ⲁ:	Bet	B.	ⲁ:	Mai	M.
Ⲃ:	Geml	G.	Ⲃ:	Nahas	N.
ⲃ:	Dent	D.	ⲃ:	Saat	S. s.
Ⲅ:	Haut	H.	Ⲅ:	Ain	Heb.
ⲅ:	Waw	W.	ⲅ:	Ⲁf	F.
Ⲇ:	Zai	Z.	Ⲇ:	Tzadi	Heb.
ⲇ:	Hharm	H. H.	ⲇ:	Kopp.	K.
Ⲉ:	Tait	Teth. Heb	Ⲉ:	Rees	R.
ⲉ:	Jaman	J.	ⲉ:	Saut	S.
Ⲋ:	Caf	Ch.	Ⲋ:	Tawi	T.

The above letters are for the learned language of Ethiopia. Their vulgar characters are different, and are called the Amharick.

The alphabets of the nations descended from the Scythians established in Europe, namely, the Servien, **SERVIEŃ,** the Russian, the Sclavonian, and the Bulgariän, are all **RUSSIAN, &c.** derived from the Greek, as hath already been mentioned. The Servien

* For a further account of the ancient Ethiopic letters and language, see Ludolphus's Ethiopic History, Commentaries, and Grammar, and the Universal History, vol. xviii.

p. 290, and the Encyclopedia, tom. ii. of the plates, Paris, 1763.

* The Ethiopians place their letters in an order different from the alphabet above given.

letters are called the Cyrillitan characters, from St. Cyril, who converted the Moravians to Christianity; smaller characters were afterwards introduced, called Glogolitici. The Russian letters are immediately derived from those used by St. Cyril.

The Illyrian or Sclavonian alphabet, is ascribed to St. Jerom. The Bulgarian letters, were originally the same with the Sclavonian.* There are several letters in these alphabets, which seem to be of northern original, which are adapted to *sounds* peculiar to the languages of the people descended from the Scythians who settled in Europe. •

ARMENIAN LETTERS.

The Armenians had no characters peculiar to themselves until the fourth century, but they used indifferently those of the Syrians, of the Persians, of the Arabians, and of the Greeks. The present Armenian alphabet contains thirty-eight letters, which they say were invented by one Mesrop or Miesrob, minister of state, and secretary to Varasdates, and Arsaces IV. kings of Armenia. Some authors affirm, that this Mesrop afterwards became a hermit, and corresponded with St. Chrysostom, who lived in the fourth century; though Angelus Roccha, in his discourse on the books in the Vatican library, George, patriarch of Alexandria, and Sixtus Senensis, assert, that St. Chrysostom was the inventor of the Armenian characters,† in whose time the bible was translated into the Armenian language, from the Greek Septuagint, by some of their doctors who had learned the Greek language, and amongst others by one Moses the grammarian, and David the philosopher. Although the Armenian characters are generally supposed to have been derived from the Greek, their forms are very different, and their number exceeds those in the Greek alphabet, by more than one third. The powers of the Armenian letters are peculiarly adapted to the notation of that language, which is very unpolished, and consequently very unlike the Greek. This alphabet contains several letters or marks for sounds, which frequently occur in the Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian languages, but are not found in the Greek.

* The ancient name of Bulgaria was Maesia. The ancient Gothic letters were disused, and were succeeded by the Bulgarian.

† It is certain, that St. Chrysostom was banished from Constantinople by an edict of

the emperor, and that he finished his days in Armenia.

‡ The Armenians say, that Haik, who lived before the destruction of Babel, was the first who spoke the Haikanian or Armenian language.

The Armenians have four kinds of writing: The first is called *Zakghachir*, or *flourished*, used for the titles of books, and for the beginning of chapters.

The *second* is called *Erghathachir*, *writing with iron*, or with a *Stylus*, which has long been disused.

The *third* is called *Poloverchir*, or round, which is found in their fairest mss.

The *fourth* is called *Notrchir*, or running hand, which is used for the ordinary affairs of life. The names and powers of the Armenian letters are as follow:

Names.	Powers.	Names.	Powers.	Names.	Powers.
Aib	A.	Dza	Dz Ze Arab.	Dsche	Đsch Arab
Bien	B as the Heb. Beth.	Kien	K Iberian.	Rra	Rr harsh the Gr. P.
Gim	G Heb. Gimel.	Huc	Hc Arab. Cha.	Sc	S Arab. Sin.
Da	D hard.	Dsa	Ds zz Ital.	Wiew	W. Arab. Vau.
Jetsch	Jé	Ghat	Gin Arab. G.	Tuin	T soft.
Sa	S soft.	Tce	Tc Djc French.	Re	R.
E	E long.	Mien	M.	Tsue	Ts.
Jeth	E short	Hi	I.	Huin	Y v Greek.
Thue	Thet Heb.	Nue	N.	Ppiur	P harsh.
Je	J as the French.	Scha	Sch in Heb.	Khe	Kh. Arab. Cha with a point.
I	I vowel.	Ue	Oue French.*	Fe	F Arab. Phe.
Luin	L.	Tscha	Tsch.	O	O w Greek.
Chhe	χ Greek.	Pe	P soft.		

Having spoken of the letters usually supposed to have been derived from the Greek, those descended from the Roman now claim attention.

LOMBARDIC WRITING. The Lombards who settled in Italy in the sixth century, corrupted the Roman letters in their writing, which is called Lombardic. This kind of writing was called Roman in the eleventh century, because the Pope's Bulls were written in these characters. The Lombardic capitals are plain, regular, and broad at the extremities, as appears by the title of the first specimen, and by the alphabet, N° 2, in the twelfth plate, and by that marked, N° 4, in the thirteenth plate,² as also by the specimen of the mss. written partly in Lombardic capitals, and partly in Uncial letters, in the eighth plate.

² The first of these alphabets is taken from a ms. in C. C. C. Cambridge, L. 11. The second is from another ms. in the same library, K. 8.

The Lombardic capitals which form the titles of mss. and the beginnings of paragraphs, are generally emplazoned in various colours. See the twelfth plate.*

CAPITALS. The first specimen of Lombardic writing in the seventh plate, is taken from a ms. in the royal library at Paris, (N° 3836,) and is said to have been written at Treves by St. Athanasius during his exile.

*Hæc invini Treveris in uno libro scriptum.
Sic incipiente Dñi nī Jhū Xpī et reliqua
Dñi nī Jhū Xpī.*

The second specimen in the same plate is taken from a ms. in the library of St. Germain des Pres at Paris, (N° 760,) fol. 46.

*Docet gentes baptizantes eos in nomine Patris et
Filii et Spiritus Sancti et ex verborum ordinē
Differentiam divinæ.*

The third specimen is taken from a ms. in the royal library at Turin, (N° 1025.) These characters vary somewhat from the two former, the tops of some of the letters are longer than those last mentioned:

Longini militis et centurionis qui Dñō latere lancca percussit.

UNCIALS. The first specimen in the twelfth plate is written in Lombardic Uncials; it is taken from a fine copy of the gospel history in verse, by Calvetius Aquilinus Juvenus, written in the eighth century, and preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge, (N. 22.) The title, which is in capitals, is to be read thus:

*Matheus instituit virtutum
tramite mores et bene.*

The text is to be read,

*Immortalē nihil mundi conpage
tenetur; non urbes, non regna
hominum non aurea Roma,
non mare, non tellus.*

* The Lombardic capitals are sometimes composed of birds and fishes, and are ornamented with flowers. See N. T. de Diplomatique, vol. ii. p. 88.

Our readers are presented with two alphabets composed of Lombardic Uncial letters in the twelfth plate, N° 2, alphabets two and three. These are extracted from the *Hexameron Sancti Ambrosii*, in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, (L. 11.) Another alphabet in Lombardic Uncials, is given in the thirteenth plate, N° 4, alphabet the second, which is taken from Origen's *Homilies*, in the same library, (K. 8.) A different alphabet of Lombardic letters is given in the same plate, N° 5, which is taken from a fragment of Cassiodorus's history in the Bodleian library, (Roe 1.) Though the Lombardic writing is not often seen, except in mss. written in Italy, yet there are some extant, which were written both in England and in France. The Lombardic Uncial alphabet, N° 5, above quoted, differs much in form from the others in the same plate, which may be attributed to the difference of national taste and variation; and Mr. Wanley positively asserts, that the ms. last quoted is written in Lombardic characters.^b

LOMBARDIC
SMALL LETTERS.

The forms of the Lombardic small letters were thin and meagre; the writing was somewhat elegant, many of the letters had long heads and tails. The specimen marked *three* in the thirteenth plate, is of this kind; it is taken from the *Hexameron* of St. Ambrose above quoted, and is to be read,

Qui vindemiam colligit
vasa prius quibus vinum infunditur
mundare consuevit ne sors aliqua
vini gratiam decoloret.
Quid enim prodest ponere vitem ordine.

A great variety of Lombardic small letters are given in the twelfth and thirteenth plates. The whole specimen, N° 4, in this last plate, is taken from Origen's *Homilies* on St. Luke, preserved in Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, (K. 8.) This ms. is written in the Lombardic running hand, which is very difficult to be read. Manuscripts written in Lombardic small letters, abound in abbreviations; several of these appear in the twelfth and thirteenth plates. The first are selected from

^b MS. in my library.

St. Ambrose's Hexameron, (L. 11.) and the latter from Origen's Homilies, (K. 8:) both which mss. are preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge.

The reading of the specimen in the thirteenth plate, N° 4, is

Tam eorum quæ dicta sunt quam illorum
quæ facta suggeruntur, debet ratio esse
Sco spū digna, et Xpi fidem ad quam creden-
tes vocamur. Unde et nunc causa
quærenda quare Maria post concep-
tum venerit ad Elisabeth et manserit.

Although the Lombardic small letters were of Roman original, yet they were not used even in Italy in early times: we do not find them till after the end of the ninth century, though they retained the name till the thirteenth, and their forms longer, as hereafter will appear.

VISIGOTHIC. The Visigoths who conquered part of Spain in the fifth century, carried with them the ~~Roman~~ letters, which being corrupted by them, were called the Visigothic or Spanish Gothic, which was generally used in that country till the invasion of the Saracens in the year 712. There are many mss. written in Visigothic characters in the eighth century, which greatly resemble the first four specimens of that century, in the twenty-third plate; afterwards the Visigothic writing in Spain was much more loosely written; this last kind of writing was called the Visigothic running hand. Although the Visigothic writing ceased to be in common use in Spain in the twelfth century, yet the running hand of this kind, was not intirely laid aside till after the fifteenth.

The Visigothic writing also prevailed in France, particularly about Tholouse, which was the chief seat of the Western Goths, who settled in that part of France in the fifth century.

There are several specimens of Visigothic writing in the N. T. de Diplomatique, vol. ii. p. 88, and vol. iii. p. 80, 221.

OF WRITING IN ENGLAND.

AFTER the most diligent inquiry it doth not appear, that the Britons had the use of letters before their intercourse with the Romans. Although alphabets have been produced, which are said to have been used by the Ancient Britons, yet no one ms. ever appeared that was written in them.^d Cunobelin, king of Britain; who lived in the reigns of the emperors Tiberius and Caligula, erected different mints in this island, and coined money in gold, silver and copper, inscribed with Roman characters.^e From the coming of Julius Cæsar, till the time the Romans left the island in the year 427, the Roman letters were as familiar to the eyes of the inhabitants, as their language to their ears, as the numberless inscriptions, coins, and other monuments of the Romans still remaining amongst us, sufficiently evince.^f However, we are of opinion, that writing was very little practised by the Britons, till after the coming of St. Augustine, about the year 596.

The Saxons, who were invited hither by the Britons, and who arrived about the year 449, were unacquainted with letters. The characters which they afterwards used, were adopted by them in the island, and though the writing in England from the fifth to the middle of the eleventh century is called *Saxon*,^g it will presently appear, that the letters used in this island were derived from the Roman, and were really Roman in their origin, and Italian in their structure at first, but were barbarized in their aspect by the British Romans and Roman Britons.^h A great variety of *capital letters* were used by the Saxons in their mss. of which many specimens are given in our plates.

^d I have several of these pretended alphabets in my collection; though they are only Roman letters deformed.

^e Many of these coins are preserved in the elaborate dissertation of the Rev. Mr. Pegge, on the coins of Cunobelin; and many particulars concerning this prince appear in the Hist. of Manchester, by Mr. Whitaker, vol. i. p. 254, 372, and in his corrections, chap. ix.

^f See several monuments inscribed with Ro-

man British characters in Borlace's Hist. of Cornwall, p. 391, 396. See more in Warburton's Vallum Romanum, London, 1753, 4to.

^g The architecture in England, which preceded the Gothic, is usually called Saxon, but it is in fact Roman.

^h See Whitaker's Manchester, vol. ii. p. 329; where he shews that the opinion of Mr. Wanley, that the Saxons brought letters with them into England, is ill-founded.

on gfrnō

sed rpell

cap

lucap

incipit euangelium

secundum lucam

London



SAXON CAPITALS.

The capital letters in plates fourteen A and B, are taken from the *TEXTUS SANCTI CUTHBERTI*, written in the seventh century, formerly preserved in the cathedral of Durham, but now in the Cottonian library (Nero. D.4). In this fine ms. we find several of the capital letters, which were used by the Greeks, the Etruscans, the Romans, the Visigoths, the Saxons, the French, and the Germans. The *Phi*, the parent of the Roman *F*, was not disused at the time this ms. was written. The Roman *F*, and also the *F* used by the northern nations, appear in the alphabet which we have engraven, as doth the *M* of the Pelasgians, of the Etruscans, of the Oscans, and of the Romans. The different forms of the letter *O*, in this alphabet, were also common not only to the people last mentioned, but likewise to the Phenicians, and to the Greeks; the *Y* is not unlike the Greek *tau*. This alphabet alone, bears strong testimony, that the letters used by our Saxon ancestors, are derived from the Phenician, the Etruscan, and the Greek letters, through the medium of those of the Roman. The capital letters in the fifteenth plate, N° 1, which are taken from a ms. written in the latter end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, confirm this opinion. It is observable that the Pelasgian *M*, was used in mss. so late as the eighth century. The third specimen in the eighteenth plate, is taken from a copy of the four gospels in the royal library (1 B.7.) Our readers will observe both Roman and Saxon capital letters in this specimen, the former are used in the canons of St. Eusebius, which were probably written by some Roman Ecclesiastic, the latter by one who had been educated in England.

In the seventh and eighth centuries square capitals were occasionally used in England, specimens of which are given in the fifteenth plate, N° 1, and in the title of N° 4, and an entire alphabet in the sixteenth plate.¹ A great variety of capital letters used in England from the seventh to the tenth century inclusive, are exhibited in the eighteenth and nineteenth plates, which deserve the attention of those, who desire to become acquainted with the manuscripts of our Saxon ancestors, and to judge of their age and authenticity.

¹ There are many square capital letters in St. Chad's Gospels preserved in the cathedral at Lichfield.

The Saxon capitals which vary from those now used, are C, E, G, H, M, and W. The small letters are, ð, f, g, r, s, t, and w, which are all Roman, except the p. p. and some notes of abbreviations used by the Saxons as Ð ƿ, þ th, ƿ that, &c. many other abbreviations used by the Saxons appear in the eighteenth plate, N° 4. These notes of abbreviation, are *not* the original members of an alphabet; they were the result of later reflection, and were introduced for dispatch.

By an attentive observation of the different specimens of writing in England, we perceive the several gradations, by which one form of a Roman character, has imperceptibly changed into another. The Saxon p, says Mr. Whitaker,* seems to have been only the Roman V at first, and to have been lengthened into the Saxon character, and enlarged into the present Roman W, by bringing the principal stroke somewhat lower, and closing the top in the one, and by redoubling the whole, in the other. The W is unknown, both to the Latin, and its daughter languages, the French, the Spanish, and the Italian: it is composed of two characters, namely of the V or U doubled.¹

The writing which prevailed in England from the coming of St. Augustin in 596, to the middle of the eleventh century, is generally termed SAXON, and may be divided into five kinds, namely, the ROMAN SAXON, the SET SAXON, the RUNNING HAND SAXON, the MIXED SAXON, and the ELEGANT SAXON; which shall be considered in order.

ROMAN SAXON. The Roman Saxon is that kind of writing which is very similar to the Roman, and prevailed in England, from the coming of St. Augustin till the eighth century. Specimens of this kind of writing, are given in plate fifteen, N° 1. In this ms. the R and the E, are more pure Roman, than those which follow; this specimen is taken from the gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, formerly preserved in the Cott. lib. (Otho. c. 5.) which is said to have been St. Augustin's book, but by the hand it seems to have been written in England, probably in his time. This fine book perished by the fire which happened in the Cottonian library in the year 1731.^m

* Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 382.

¹ Mr. Wise (ut supra, p. 945) affirms that the Saxon P is of northern growth.

^m The drawing was taken at the expence of Edward Earl of Oxford.

The reading is,

“ CATA MARCUM abbas sirum Pater idumea
 “ Rosa siue terrena salone siue pacifica
 “ Tyro angustae Thabitha cum syris
 “ Puella surge traconitidis negotiatio.”

Another specimen in Roman Saxon characters, appears in the eighteenth plate, N° 5, which is taken from a ms. of the four gospels, in the royal library at London, (1 E. VI.) written in England in the seventh century. The second page of this ms. is of a violet colour, in which are several letters in gold and silver. Prefixed to the gospels, is St. Jerom's epistle to Pope Damasus, from whence this specimen is taken:

“ Novum opus me cogis facere ex veteri ut post exemplaria scribaturarum toto orbe dispensa quasi quidam arbiter sedeam, et quia inter se variant quae sint illa quae cum graeca consentiant veritate decernam.”

The alphabets are, first, of the capital letters, which were in gold and silver; secondly, of the letters in which the heads of the chapters are written; and thirdly, of the letters which compose the text.

The sixteenth plate furnishes a third specimen of Roman Saxon writing, which is taken from a fair copy of the four gospels of St. Jerom's translation, written in England, in the latter end of the seventh century, with an interlineary Saxon version, written in the tenth century by Farmennus and Owinus, two priests.

This ms. is called the *Codex Rushworthianus*, because it belonged formerly to John Rushworth, of Lincoln's Inn, esq. It is now preserved in the Bodleian library, at Oxford, (D. 24, N° 3946.) Mr. Wanley says, it is little inferior in age, to the Lichfield ms. or to St. Cuthbert's gospels, Nero, D. IV. At the end of this book, is the following passage, written in a hand similar to, and coeval with the text. “ MACREGOL dipinxit hoc Evangelium. Quicumque legerit et intellexerit istam narrationem, orat pro MACREGIUL Scriptori.”

The square or angular capital letters, are very similar to those which appear in the Lichfield ms. and to those in the fifteenth plate, N° 1.

The second alphabet, is of the initial or uncial letters, (as they are usually called) in which the titles of chapters are written; the third, is of the Latin text, and the fourth, of the Saxon version. Concerning this valuable ms. see Wanley's catal. page 81.

This specimen is to be read,

“ Et egressus est rursus ad mare omnisque turba veniebat ad eum et docebat eos, et cum praeterire vidit levi Alphei sedentem ad telonum, et ait illi sequere me, et surgens secutus est eum; et factum est cum accumberet in domo illius multi publicaniⁿ et peccatores simul discumbebant.”

The fifth specimen in the fifteenth plate, is taken from a fine ms. preserved in the church of Lichfield, called, *TEXTUS SCĪ CEDDÆ*, or St. Chad's gospels. This ms. was many years ago presented to the church of Ilandaff, by Gelhi, who gave for the purchase of it, one of his best horses; it was deposited in the cathedral church of Lichfield about the year 1020, which being dedicated to St. Chad, the fifth bishop of that see, it hath thence been called his book. This ms. was written in England about the time of St. Cuthbert's gospels in the seventh century; in the margin whereof, are several annotations in Latin and Saxon, and some in the ancient British or Welch, which last, Mr. Edward Lhuyd suppose to be of about nine hundred years standing.* The specimen is taken from the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, ver. 3, and 4.

“ Et mihi adsecuto^p a principio omnibus diligenter, ex ordinē tibi scribere, obtime Theofile: ut cognoscas eorum verborum, de quibus eruditus es veritatem.”

The fourteenth plate contains the fifth and last specimen which we have given of Roman Saxon writing, and is taken from the *Textus Sancti Cuthberti* formerly preserved in the cathedral of Lindisfarne or Durham, and is now in the Cottonian library (Nero, D. IV). The time when this most noble monument of Anglo-Saxon Calligraphy was written, is nearly ascertained, by a Saxon note at the end of St. John's gospel, in the hand

ⁿ Pro publicani.

^o V. Ed. Lhuyd *Archæol. Brit.* vol. i. p. 5, 226. Cl. Wanleii *Catal. Codd. Ling. Sept.* vol. p. 5, 226.

^p Pro assecuto, obtime pro optime.

7 pascen de per apert pona et eo pa call , pa p
RESUSCITATUS EST RURSUS AD MARE OMNIS QUE AN
NIEBAT AD EUM ET DOCEBAT EOS. & CUM PRATE
RE VIDERET LEVI ALPHEI SEDENTEM AD TELONUM
ATQUE ILLI SEQUERE ME & SURGENS SECUTUS EST EUM
FACTUM EST CUM CCUMBERE IN DOMO ILLIUS MUL
TIPLICAM & PECCATORES SIMUL DISCUMBEBANT

a a b b c d d e e f f g h i l



f
↵
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abcdefghijklmnopqrstuvwxyz, 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042

writing of Aldred, who was bishop of Durham from the year 946 to 968, whereby it appears, that the Latin text was written by St. Eadfrith, a Monk of Lindisfarn, in the time of St. Cuthbert, who died in the year 687, when he, the above-mentioned St. Eadfrith, was elected bishop of that see, which he held till the time of his death, in 721; and that the curious and elaborate ornaments which are in this ms. the pictures of the cross, and of the four evangelists, and the capital letters, were drawn by St. Ethelwald, who was a contemporary Monk with bishop Eadfrith, and who succeeded him in the bishoprick of Lindisfarn, wherein he continued till his decease in 737. Bishop Aldred adds, that Bilfrith, a Monk of the same church, adorned the outside of the book, with a silver cover gilt, set with precious stones; and that Aldred, a priest, added the interlineary Saxon versions, with some marginal notes.

Many marvellous tales are related concerning this book; amongst others, Turgot gravely asserts, that when the Monks of Lindisfarn were removing from thence, to avoid the depredations of the Danes, the vessel wherein they were embarked oversetting, this curious book which they were transporting with them, fell into the sea, and through the merits of St. Cuthbert, the sea ebbing much further than usual, it was found upon the sands, above three miles from the shore, without having received injury by the water.

This specimen is taken from the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel, beginning at the fifth verse, which is to be read thus;

"Fuit in diebus Herodis Regis Judaeae sacerdos quidam nomine Zacharias de vice Abia et uxor illi de filiabus Aro^{is} et nomen ejus Elisabet, crant autem justi ambo ante Dñi incedentes in omnibus mandatis & justificationibus Dñi sine quaerella. Et non erat illis filius eo."

The second column begins with,

"Pater noster qui es in Caelis scificetur nomen tuum adveniat regnum tuum, fiat voluntas tua sicut in Caelo et in terra. Panem nostrum super substantialē da nobis hodie et dimitte nobis debita nostra sicut nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne inducas nos in temptationem sed libera nos a malo."

The Saxon translation is interlined.

¹ This note is printed in Wanley's Catalogue of Saxon mss. which forms the 3d vol. of Hickeys's Thesaurus, p. 252. St. Eadfrith is not mentioned in Heylin's list of the bishops of Durham.

² Nullum per aquam læsionis signum monstratur. Wanley ut supra.

It is observable, that the mss. which we have placed in the class of *Roman Saxon*, are written partly in Uncial letters, and partly in Demi-Uncial, with some small letters amongst them. The *Roman Saxon* writing is very similar to the Roman-Uncial. The letters, *d, e, i, p, q, r, s*, are generally of that kind.

Towards the middle of the eighth century, the writing of the second class, namely, SET SAXON took place in England, which continued till about the middle of the ninth, and which was not intirely disused till the beginning of the tenth century.

The first specimen of this kind of writing, is given in the fifteenth plate, N° 3, from a charter of king Athelbald, dated A.D. 749, and inrolled in a ms. formerly preserved in the Cottonian library, (Otho. A.1.) This specimen is a mixture of *Roman-Saxon* and *Set-Saxon* letters, the change from one mode of writing to that of another did not take place immediately, but was gradual.

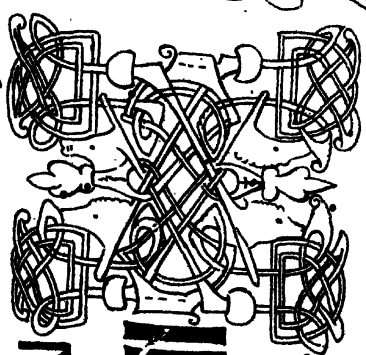
Hujus scedulae scriptio dominice incarnationis anno 749. Indictione 2, in loco celebre cuius vocabulum est Godmundes—Lacch XXXIII. anno Aedelbaldi Regis peracta.

N° 11, in plate seventeen, exhibits a specimen of writing partly in Roman-Saxon, and partly in Set-Saxon characters, taken from a copy of the four gospels, in the Royal Library (1 B. 7.) and written in the eighth century.

Quoniam
quidem multi co-
nati sunt ordinare
narrationem q
in nobis comple-
tae sunt rerum.

Plate eighteen, N° 3, contains several alphabets of capitals, initials, or uncials, and small letters taken from this ms.

The first specimen in the seventeenth plate, is in Set-Saxon characters, and is taken from a very fair ms. formerly belonging to St. Augustin's abby, in Canterbury, which is now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, (G.2). This ms. was written in England in the eighth century, though somewhat later than that last mentioned. It



IHERONI

MVS PRES

biogr. natus apud euseb. hinc librum
scriptur. ubi ethiensem militem mil
tium quatuordecim lictosque: cernamus aut.

Ex libro 4. Evang. in Bibliotheca Regia. B.



QUANTUM

quidem multo
necesse sunt ordinare
necesse rationem q
nobis comple
tesse sunt etiam

contains the life of St. Paul the Hermit, and is worthy of attention, as it gives a specimen of the drawings and ornamented letters, which are frequently to be seen in Saxon mss. of the eighth and ninth century. The figure is intended to represent the Hermit Paul, sitting in an ancient chair, writing: whether the bird at his ear, is bringing him food, or intelligence, the life itself may determine, or perhaps it is a symbol of inspiration. The words are,

Hieronimus Presbiter, natus a patre Eusebio hunc librum scripsit in Bethleem in loco videlicet militum qui vocatur litostrotos; terminus ait.

N° 4, in the fifteenth plate, is taken from a ms. in the Harleian library, (N° 2965), written in England in the eighth century, in strong *Set-Saxon* characters. It is observable, that square, or cornered characters, were not disused at this time, in titles of mss. The letter *M*, which was used by the Pelasgians, the Oscans, and the Etruscans, appears in this ms. The letter *R* is scarcely to be distinguished from the *N*; this is common in mss. of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The reading is,

Incipit Orat. Scī Augustī
in sciī sollemnitatibū.

Dñ dilecti et benedicti filii tui Jhū Xpi

• Pater per quem tui agnitionem suscipimus.

Dñ anglorum et universae Creaturae visibilū et invisibilū.

Aequus conditor ac dispensator.

N° 1, in the eighteenth plate, is taken from a ms. in the Royal library, (2 A. xx.) written also in the eighth century: the characters are not so stiff, as those specimens which are given in the fifteenth plate; nor so loose as the running hand Saxon of the fourth specimen in this plate, nor of several of those in the twenty-third plate. The Dragon, in the ornamented letter, is the emblem of vigilance, and was used as such, by the Phenicians, the Greeks, and the Romans.

• The three most ancient symbols are, the Circle, the *Serpent*, and the *Wings*. The Circle represented the *Eternity* of the Deity.

The Serpent, his *Wisdom*. The Wings, his *Providence* over, and *protection* of all created beings. The Dragon, is the Serpent dignified.

“ In primis obsecro supplex obnixis
 pecibus summam et gloriosam Malestatem (majestatem) Dī atque
 inclytam sc̃æ individuaeque trinitatis almitatē. Ut me miserum
 indignumque humunculum exaudire dignetur.”

The second specimen in this plate is taken from a copy of St. Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians in the Bodleian library, (Laud. E.67. f.69.) written at the latter end of the eighth century.

“ Paulus Apostolus Jhū Xpī p voluntate Dī sc̃is omnibus
 qui sunt Ephesi et fidelibus in Xpō Jhū gratia vobis et pax a Dō
 patre nro et Dnō Jhū Xpō benedictus Ds̃ et pater Dnī Jhū Xpī qui
 benedixit nos in omni benedictione spiritali in celestibus in Xpō Jhū.”

The first specimen in the nineteenth plate, is taken from a copy of venerable Bede's preface to his book concerning the miracles of St. Cuthbert, in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, (Sub. D.5.) which seems to have been written in the ninth century; because the genealogies of the kings of Britain which are in this book, are none of them brought down beyond the year 850.

Dnō Scō ac beatissimo patri Eadfrido Epō, sed et omni Congregationi fratrum, qui in Lindisfarnensi Insula Xpō deservunt Beda fidelis vr̃ conservus salutem.

The Set-Saxon was used in Wales longer than in England, as appears by the fourth specimen in the twentieth plate, which is taken from a copy of *St. Augustine de Trinitate* in the same library, N° 5, written in Wales by John de Gente Ceretica (or Cardiganshire), in the time of Sulgen, who was bishop of St. Davids, in the reign of king Edward the Confessor.

“ Domino beatissimo et sincerissima auctoritate venerando
 Scō patri et consacerdoti Pape Aurilio Augustinus in dnō salutem.
 Incipit ne prefatio sive prologus.”

The *Set-Saxon* letters approach near to the *Roman Saxon*, but in this kind of writing many *pure Saxon* letters occur, particularly the letters, *e, f, g, þ, r, t.*

THE SAXON RUNNING HAND. Towards the latter end of the ninth century, learning was diffused in England under the auspices of our great king Alfred, in whose reign many books were written in this island, in a more expeditious manner than formerly. This kind of writing I call the running hand of the Saxons; few MSS. were written in this hand before the reign of that monarch, though a free mode of writing had been used in charters from the latter end of the eighth century, as appears from the first column of the twenty-third plate.

The third specimen in the nineteenth plate, is written in a more free manner than any of those above described; it is taken from a MS. in the Bodleian library, (Digby 63.) intituled, *Liber de Computo Ecclesiastico*, written by Regenbald (or Reginald), a priest of Winchester, between the years 850, and 867.

Si cupis nosse qota sit FERIA KL Iap. sume Annos Dñi deduc-asse adde quartam partē. Os partire per VII quod remanet ipsa erit FERIA. Si nihil remanserit, VII erit. Potest qui vult a Cielo . . .

The fourth specimen in the eighteenth plate, is in the most expeditious manner of writing practised by the Saxons; it is taken from a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge (S. XI.) written about the year 891. The characters are loose and free, and the abbreviations are very numerous, which renders the reading of it difficult; many of them are engraven with a view to facilitate the reading of MSS. written in England, in the time of the Saxons.

This specimen is taken from a tract, in the latter part of the volume, intituled, *C. Sedulii opus Paschale*, and is to be read as follows:

IV. Explicit Liber II.

Incipit Liber III.

Has inter Virtutis opes, jam proxima Paschæ
Cooperat esse dies cum gloria vellet
Ponere mortalem, vivamque resumere carnem
Non aliam, sed rursus eam quam, munere plenam

Concerning this MS. see Wanley's preface to his catalogue, p. 130.

Lucis, ab infernis relevans ad sidera duxit
 Exclamansque palam, "Pater, ista memet in horâ"
 "Salvifica; sed in hanc ideo veni tamen horam;
 "Clarifica," dixit.

The running hand Saxon letters are more like the pure or elegant Saxon which succeeded them. These distinctions will appear, by carefully comparing the plates of these different kinds of writing with each other.

We have already observed under the head of Roman writing, that in the ninth, tenth, and in the beginning of the eleventh centuries, many mss. were written in England, in characters partly Roman, partly Lombardic, and partly Saxon, as will appear by comparing the alphabet in the thirteenth plate, with the specimens in plates nineteen and twenty. The second, fourth, and fifth specimens, in the nineteenth plate are of this kind.

The second specimen is taken from a copy of venerable Bede, upon the canonical epistles, written in the year 818, and preserved in the Bodleian library, (supra D. Art. sive. Med. 3.)

Incipit expositio Bedæ Presbyteri in epistolam Joh. III^a.

Senior gaio carissimo quem ego diligo in veritate. Qui vel qualis fuerit iste gavisin processu epistolæ monstratusque videlicet fidem Christi quam perceperat bonis accumulabat actibus: et si ipse ad predicandum verbum minime sufficiebat eos tamen qui predicarent de facultatibus suis sustentare gaudebat Hunc autem esse gaium arbitramur cujus in epistola ad Romanos Paulus meminit dicens Salutat vos gaius hospes meus ecclesie et totius anno 818, ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

Pascha vixit apl. Lun in Pascha 117.

The fourth specimen in the nineteenth plate is taken from a copy of the canons, made in the council of Calcedon, written by the order of pope John VIII. by Ignat. Patr. C. P. between the years 872 and 878.

"Aetius Archidiaconus Constantinopolis novae Romae legit. Scā et magna
 "universalis synodus quae secundum gratiam Dei et sanctiones piissimorum
 "Christianissimorumque Imperatorum Valentiniani et Martiani
 "Augusto."

The fifth specimen in the same plate, is taken from St. Augustin's exposition of the Revelations, written by the command of St. Dunstan,

when Abbot of Glastonbury, which was between the years 940 and 962. The following entry is in a contemporary hand. "*Dunstan Abbas hunc libellum scribere jussit.*"

"Et vidi supra dextram sedentis in throno librum scriptum intus et foris. Utrumq; testamentum intellege, a foris vetus ab intus novum quod intra vetus latebat; signatum inquit sigillis septem id est omnium mysteriorum plenitudine obscuratum. Quod usq; ad passionē et resurrectionem Xpi mansit signatum."

The third and seventh specimens in the twentieth plate are also in mixed characters. The third specimen is taken from a ms. in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge (N 17.) written in the tenth century, which contains a copy of the works of Martianus Capella of Carthage.

De Connubiis Deorum. De Nuptiis. De Grammaticâ. Dialecticâ. Rhetoricâ. Geometriâ. Arithmeticâ. Astrologiâ. Musicâ.

"Atque in psallentem thalamis quem matre camena."

"Progenitum perhibent copula sacra deum."

The seventh specimen in this plate, is taken from a copy of the Gospels, in the same library (S.4.) and is written about the time of king Edward the Confessor.

Ego Ælfricus scripsi hunc librum in Monasterio Baththonio, et dedi Brithwoldo preposito.

Qui scripsi? vivat in pace in hoc mundo et in futuro sēlo et qui legit legator in eternum.

The seventh specimen, in the nineteenth plate, is taken from a ms. in the Royal library (5.F.3.) intituled, *Aldhelmi Shirburnensis Episcopi, de Laude Virginitatis, liber Prosaicus, ad Hildelitham Virginem, &c.*

Mr. Casley is of opinion, that this ms. was written in the eighth century, but we do not suppose it to have been written till the ninth, the characters are rude and barbarous, and are very difficult to be read.

Reverentissimis Xpi virginibus omnique devotae germanitatis affectu venerandis, et non solum corporalis pudicitiae praeconio celebrandis quod plurimorū est, verum etiam spiritalis castimoniae gratia glorificandus quod paucorum est.

ELEGANT SAXON.

The elegant Saxon writing which took place in England early in the tenth century, and which lasted till the Norman conquest, but was not intirely disused till the middle of the twelfth, is more beautiful than the writing in France, Italy, and Germany, during the same period. Several specimens of this kind of writing, are given in the twentieth plate, N^o 2, 5, 6, 9, and 10; and in the last column of the twenty-first plate. N^o 8, in the nineteenth plate, is also of this kind.

N^o 2, in the twentieth plate, is taken from a fair book of Saxon Homilies in the Lambeth Library, (N^o 439) written in the tenth century.

Kl. Novembris Natale omnium Sanctorum.

Halige lareowas ræddon ~~that~~ seo geleafulle gelathung thisne
dæg eallum halgu to wurthmynte mærsie & arwurthlice freolsie,
forþan-the hine mihton heora ælcum synderlice freols-tide
gesettan, ne nanu.

Which translated into modern English is,

The holy Doctors conjecture that the Congregation of the faithful celebrate this day, and solemnly observe it as a feast in honour of all the Saints, because they could not appoint a festival to each of them separately, nor to none.

N^o 5, in the same plate, is taken from the Homily of Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, intituled, *De fide*, which, Mr. Wanley is of opinion, was written in the year 960.

That that lator biþ, that hæfþ ~~angin~~ and God næfþ nan angin
Nis na se Fæther ana thrynys oððe se sunu thrynys, oððe se
halga gast thrynnys; ac thað thry hadas syndon an God, on anre
Godcundnyse, thonne þu gehyrst nemnan thone Fæther, thonne
understentst þu that he hæfþ sunu; eft thonne þu cwyst sunu,
thu wæst abuton tweon that he hæfþ

Which translated into modern English is,

That which is latest (in order of succession) that hath beginning, and God hath no beginning. Now the Father alone is not the Trinity, or the Son the Trinity, or the Holy Ghost the Trinity. But these three Persons are one God in one Godhead. When thou hearest speak of the Father, then understandest thou that he hath a Son. Again, when thou namest the Son, thou knowest without doubt that he hath . . . &c.

The sixth specimen, in the same plate, is taken from a ms. in the Cottonian Library, (Claud. B.4.) which was written in England a short time before the Conquest. It contains extracts from the Pentateuch, and the book of Joshua, in Saxon, and is dedicated by Ælfric to Æthelward the Alderman. In this ms. are many drawings.

Sothlice this synd ysrahela naman the inforon on Egypta land. He mid his Sunum. Sephrum cenneda, Ruben; Rubenes suna, Enoh, and Phallu, and Charm. Simeones suna, Gamuel, and Diamin, and Achod, and Jachim, and Saher, and Saul Chananides suna, and Leuies Sues^a suna Jerson and Chaath

Which translated into modern English is,

Verily these are the names of the Israelites that entered into the land of Egypt, he and his sons. The first-born, Reuben; the sons of Reuben, Enoch, and Phallu, and Charmi. The sons of Simeon, Gamuel, and Diamin, and Achod, and Jachim, and Saher, and Saul son of a Canaanitish woman; and the sons of Levi, Jerson, and Chaath.

N°9, in this plate, is a specimen of the charter of king Henry I. to the church of Canterbury. This charter is written in Latin and Saxon, upon the same piece of parchment, in the centre of which, on the left side, the great seal of king Henry I. is appendent.

H. thurh Godes genu Ænglelandes Kyning grete ealle mine Bissceopes, and calle mine Eorles, and calle mine Sciegereuan, and calle mine Thegenas, Frencisce and Ængliscce, on tham Sciran the Willelm Ærceb. and se Hired æt Xpēs Circean on Cantwaraberig habbath Land inne freondlice.

— i. e. —

H. Dei gratia Anglorum rex saluto omnes meos Episcopos, et omnes meos Comites, et omnes meos Vice comites, et omnes meos thanos Francos et Anglos in istis comitatibus quibus Willelmus Archiep; et conventus apud Christi Ecclesiam in Cantuariis habent terras amicabiliter.

N°10, is a specimen of the charter of king Henry II. to the same church, written also in Latin and Saxon; with the great seal appendent, in the same manner as the last mentioned. These two are in the Author's library. This second charter is made in favour of archbishop Theobald,

^a See Genesis, ch. xlv. v. 8, 11.

and the Convent at Christ Church, this is nearly in the same words as that last mentioned.

The eighth and last specimen in the nineteenth plate, may be classed among the elegant Saxon writing, it is taken from Cædmon's Poetical Paraphrase of the books of Genesis and Daniel, now preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford, (Junius 11) and was written towards the end of the tenth century.

This book formerly belonged to archbishop Usher, who lent it to Mr. Somner, by whom it was made use of in his Saxon dictionary. The archbishop gave it afterwards to Fr. Junius, who published it, without the drawings, at Amsterdam, 1655.

About the year 1756, the drawings in this ms. were engraved by J. Green, but as this was done by private subscription, a few copies only were taken off. This specimen is to be read,

“VS IS RIGHT MICEL THÆT we rodera weard, wereda wuldor Cining wordum herigen, modum lufien. He is mægna sped, Henfod ~~alra~~ heah gesceafta, Frea ælmihtig Næs him fruma æfre, or-geworden; ne nu ende cymth ecean Drihtnes fruma æfre or-geworden; ne nu ende cymth ecean Drihtnes: ac he bith a rice ofer heofen stolas, heagum thrymmum. Sothfæst and swith ferom swegl-bosmas heold.”

i. e.

It is very right for us that we the Ruler of the skies, the glorious King of armies, should extol with words, and love in our hearts. He is the pattern of excellence; the supreme head above all creatures; the Lord Almighty! Never was to him a beginning, being uncreated; nor yet shall an end ever come of the eternal Lord: but he shall be for ever ruler throughout the mansions of Heaven with exalted majesty. Righteous and exceedingly powerful, he occupieth the recesses of the sky, &c.

The twenty-first plate furnishes our readers with a variety of specimens of writing in England, from about the year 693, to the middle of the eleventh century. These are deduced from enrolments of proceedings in the Saxon synods, councils, ~~fīre-na-gemot~~ or legislative assemblies, and from Placita, Chartæ, Testamentary dispositions, and other authentic documents in the Author's library.*

* Except N^o 2 in the first column, which is taken from the Cottonian library, (Aug. 2.) and which seems to be a copy.

We recommend to our readers to compare these specimens attentively with those of the Anglo-Saxon writing in the preceding plates; such attention will be useful to those, who wish to be acquainted with the different modes of writing practised by our remote ancestors, and will, in our opinion, be the best method of enabling them to judge of their age and authenticity. For although these charters, and conveyances of property, are generally written in a more free and expeditious manner than the books written in the same ages, yet a similarity of character is observable, between charters, and books, written in the same century, and they authenticate each other; but it will be necessary for the student himself, to take some pains in contemplating the different forms of the characters, used in the documents which we have delineated for his information, or he will not be an adept in this science. This attention will assist him in judging of the age and authenticity of MSS. written on the Continent, as many of these hands were used in France and Germany, between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

Explanation of the twenty-first plate.

✠ In nomine dni dī nostri Jhū Xpi Ego UIHTREDUS Rex Cantuariorum—Pro ignorantia Literarum ✠ Signum scāe crucis expressi, A.D. DCXCIII.

Quapropter Ego OFFA caelica fulcientē clementia Rex Merciorum, simulq; aliarum circumquaq; nationum—Anno autē Dominice Incarnationis, DCCXXX^o conscripta est haec Donatio—✠ Ego Offa Dei dono Rex . . .

✠ In nomine Jhū Xpi—Ego OFFA Rex totius Anglorum patriæ, dabo—Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCLXXIIII.

✠ In nomine unigeniti filij Dei—Ego OFFA Rex Merciorum—Actum Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCLXXXV.

In nomine Redemptoris Mundi. Ego COENUULF gratia Dei Rex Merciorum—Facta est autem haec utcumque donatio Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCXCVIIII. In Vicum Regio æt Tome-Worthige [Tamworth.]

✠ In nomine scī salvatoris Dei et Dnī nrī Jhū Xpi. Ego COENUULFUS gratia Dei Rex Merciorum—Actum est hoc Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCCXIIII.

✠ Anno vero Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCCLXXIIII. Indiæ 11. Congregata est synodus in loco celebri ubi nominatur aet Clofeshoum.

✠ Regnante in perpetuum Dnō Dō rō Sabaoth—Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCCXLV.

✠ In nomine almotrino divino Ego ELFRĒD Rex [cū consensu et licentia atque consilio sapientum—Anno Dominice ab Incarnationis, DCCCXXIII.

Regnante in perpetuum—Incarnationis Anno DCCCCII—Contigit quod ÆTHELFRED Duci omnes hereditarij libri ignis vastatione combusti perierunt. Tali igitur necessi

• In nomine Scē Trinitatis—Ego EADMUNDUS Rex Anglorum—Acta est hæc præfata donatio Anno ab Incarnatione Dñi nri Jhū Xpi, DCCCCLIIII.

✠ Annuente—Ego EADGAR totius Brittanniæ Basileus—Anno Dñi incarnationis, DCCCCLXIII. Scripta est hæc Carta.

Acta est autem hæc præfata emptio Anno Dominice Incarnationis, DCCCCLXXVIII.

Hoc autem donum prerogative donationis Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis, DCCCCLXXVI.

ÆTHELFRED primicerius et Basileus gentis Anglorum concedo—Scripta est Anno MIII. Indict. xv. Aepacte iv. Data Die v. Id. Jul. Luna xxvii.

CNUT Anglorum Rex venerabili Archiepō Aelfstano—indorsed Scripta est hæc Cartula mille decurso, Anno xviii.

✠ In nomine Dei summi—Ego CNUT divina mihi concedente clementia Rex Anglorum—Acta est hec præfata donatio Anno ab Incarnatione Dñi Milesimo xxxv°. His testibus consentientibus.

The last column of the twenty-first plate is deduced from authentic documents in the Saxon tongue, preserved in the Author's library, which are to be read as follows:

✠ XF (Christus) Ic Elfred Dux hatu writan and cythan an thissum gewrite Elfrede Regi and allum his Weotum, and Geweotan, and ecswylce minum me gum and minum gefeorum tha men the ic mines Erfes and mines Boclondes.

i. e.

XF. I Ælfred the Duke have directed it to be notified in this deed to Ælfred the King, and to all his Council, and also to my own kinsmen and bailiffs, to what persons I bequeath the principal part of my real estate.

2. ✠ This is Æthelwyrdæs Cwithe, mid gethæhte Oðan Ærce-biscopas and thæs hioredæs æt Cristæs Cirican. That is thonne that Æthelwyrd bruce thæs landæs⁷ on Geoçham.

i. e.

This is Æthelwyrd's will, with the consent of Odo the Archbishop and the Convent at Christ-Church. That is, that Æthelwyrd shall enjoy the land at Geoçham.

3. ✠ Eadgifu cyth tham Arc-bisc and Cristes Cyrcean hyrede hu hire Land com æt Culingon. That is thæt hire læfde hire Fæder land and hoc swa he —

i. e.

Eadgi⁸ declares to the Archbishop, and to the Convent at Christ-Church, the manner in which the lands æ. Cowling came to her, (to wit) that her father left to her the land and charters as he² —

4. Gode Ælmihtigum rixiende the ræt and gewissath, eallum gesceaftum thurh his agenne Wisdom, and he ealra cininga cynedom.

1. e.

To God Almighty the King, who ruleth and governeth all creatures through his owr⁹ wisdom, and he all kingdoms,

5 ✠ On Godes Ælmihtiges naman. Ic ÆTHESTAN Ætheling geswutelige on thysum gewrite. hu Ic mine are. and mine æhta. geunnen hæbbe Gode to lofe and minre Saule to.

⁷ Geoçham his dæg on freodome.
Ickham for his life with freedom.

² Mid righte beget, and his yldran lea¹⁰don.
i. e. With right acquired them, and his ancestors left them to him.

1. c. .

In God Almighty's name, I Æthelstan the Prince, declare in this writing, how I have disposed of my substance and estates, for the praise of God, and the redemption of my Soul.*

6. Her is on sio swutelung hu ÆLFHELM his are and his æhta geuadod hæfth. for Gode and for Wurulde. Thæt is, thonni ærest his hlaforde an hund Mancosa Goldes, and twa Swurd, and feower Scyldas, and feower Sweru, and feower

i. e.

Here is, within, the declaration how Ælfhelm hath disposed of his goods and possessions with respect to God and as to the world: That is, imprimis, To his Lord an hundred mancuses of gold, and two swords, and four shields, and four spears, and four

7. Her ge swutelath on thisū gewrite that Cnut Kynig læt that Land æt Folkestone into

i. e.

Here is declared in this writing that Cnut, King, granted that land at Folkestone unto

8. † Her swutelath on thisum gewrite that Eadsi Arce-biscep hæfen geunnan Gode and Scē Augustine V Æcera landes butan reada gatan, and tha mæda withutan Wiwer.

i. e.

Here be it known by this writing, that Eadsi, the Archbishop, hath granted to God and St. Augustine v acres of land without Riding-Gate (in Canterbury), and the meads without Wiwer (Gate).

9. Eadweard Cynge gret calle mine Bes and mine Eorlas and mine . . .

i. e.

I, Edward the King, greet all my Bishops, and my Earls, and my . .

* The will goes on, and my father king Æthelred's from whom I received it.

OF WRITING IN THE NORTHERN PARTS OF SCOTLAND AND IN IRELAND.

THE MSS. written in the northern parts of Scotland and in Ireland, are in characters similar to the Saxon, and therefore we shall speak of them, before we treat of those which were written in England after the Norman conquest.

It has already been observed that the Saxon, Irish, and other characters used by the western nations of Europe, were derived from the Roman. The literati of Scotland generally subscribe to this opinion; but as several writers on the antiquities and learning of the ancient Irish have adopted different sentiments, it may be necessary to enter into a more full discussion of this subject. We have shewn, that the ancient Britons had no letters, till they borrowed the Roman alphabet from the Romans themselves. The first characters found in Britain, as well on coins, as on stone monuments,^b are Roman; and these were extended over the island of Britain, as is proved by Mr. Whitaker, (vol. i. p. 371 & seqq.) who is of opinion, that from the shore of Caledonia, they were in a short time wafted over into Ireland.^c

The early history of most nations abounds in fables, and it would be extraordinary if the annals of Ireland were free from them; but there are so many absurd and improbable tales reported, concerning the early population and civilization of that country, that the bare relation of them must effectually destroy their credit. A book called *Leabhuir Dromnasnaehta*, or Book with the white cover, hath been quoted to prove, that Cain's three daughters took possession of Ireland, and that the eldest of these ladies, called *Bamba*, gave her name to that island. Dr. Parsons says,^d that Ireland was peopled about three hundred years

^b Borlase's *Cornwall*, chap. vi. p. 391, on inscribed monuments, and Whitaker, vol. ii. p. 331.

^c It is probable there was an early intercourse between the ancient inhabitants of Scot-

land and those of Ireland, as it is but a few hours sail from Port Patrick to Carrickfergus, Droghadee.

^d Remains of Japhet, p. 153.

after the flood. According to Doctor Keating the giant *Partholimus*, who was descended in a right line from Japhet, landed on the coast of Munster the 14th day of May, in the year of the world 1978.* The same learned Doctor, and likewise Mr. Toland, Dr. Parsons, and other modern authors relate, that Fenius Farsaidh or Fintusa Farsa, great grandson to Japhet, set up a school in the plains of Senaar or Shinar, about one hundred and fifty years after the deluge, and first invented the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Irish letters.† The works of Keating and Parsons evince that they had a large portion of faith; but it is singular, that Toland, who was so exceedingly incredulous in many respects, and particularly in his belief of revealed religion, should profess to believe these incredible stories concerning the inhabitants of Ireland.

Such of our readers as may wish to know more relating to the traditions of Ireland, may find much entertainment in perusing the works of Mr. O'Flaherty, Mr. O'Conner, and Mr. O'Halloran's History of Ireland.‡ This last author is superstitiously devoted to the legendary tales of his country. His first book commences with the supposed landing of Partholan about two hundred and seventy-eight years after the flood, and ends with the Milesian expedition, about the year of the world 2736. He tells us that Britain was peopled from Ireland, and adopts all the fabulous opinions laid down by former writers.

As to the antiquity of the Irish mss. Keating says, that the psalter of Tara was written in the reign of Ollamh Fodhla about nine hundred and twenty-two years before Christ, which Prince was the seventh in descent from Milesius, and Dr. Parsons endeavours to support this opinion. Our researches have not been so fortunate, for we have not been able to discover an Irish ms. older than the tenth century.‡

* See Dr. Keating's History of Ireland, p. 13, 14. This author relates, that though Partholanus succeeded in his enterprise, the loose behaviour of his wife rendered his domestic life very unhappy, and provoked him to such a degree, that he killed her favourite greyhound. This, the learned historian assures us, was the first instance of female infidelity ever known in Ireland.

† See Keating's History of Ireland, p. 59 to 64. Toland's Posthumous Works, tom. i. p. 38. See also Innes's Essay on the ancient inhabitants of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 420, and more in the remains of Japhet by Dr. Parsons, p. 115.

‡ Two vols. 4to. 1778.

§ Several alphabets have been engraven both in France and in Ireland of characters which

General Vallancey delivers it as his opinion, that the Iberians who migrated from the borders of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and settled in Spain, learned letters, and arts from the Phenicians; that a colony of the *ancient Spaniards*, by the name of *Scots* or *Scythians*, settled in Ireland about a thousand, or perhaps six hundred years before Christ, and that they brought elementary characters with them into Ireland. He observes, that the Irish alphabet differs from that of all other nations, in name, order, number, and power, and supposes, that they might have received their alphabet from the Carthaginians, who also settled a colony in Ireland about six hundred years before Christ, and adds, that this opinion is the more to be credited, as the Irish language appears to have a radical identity with the Punic.¹

This author hath lately published a new edition of his Irish grammar,^k in which is annexed a curious essay on the Celtic language. He shews, that all the European languages are of Celtic origin, and he hath given us a very learned account of the different dialects of the Celtic language; namely, of the Welch, Cornish, Armoric, and of the Irish. This gentleman has established many useful and important facts, relative to the population, and to the languages formerly spoken in most parts of Europe: but although the Ibero-Celtic, or Irish language hath in it many words which are of Punic original, this by no means proves that the Punic letters were carried immediately into Ireland by the Milesians; the Ibero-Celtic language was spoken, long before it was written, and we cannot admit, that what he hath advanced, will induce the historian or the critic to allow, that the Milesians brought the Punic letters into Ireland.

As the western parts of Europe were probably first peopled by emigrators who had originally travelled from Phenicia and the adjacent countries, it is obvious that these settlers would bring eastern manners and customs with them, as many authors have proved. The learned Mr. Borlase^l gives a particular chapter, concerning the resemblance which the ancient Cimbri, or Celts, bore to the eastern nations;

are called *Irish*, but I consider them of no authority, they being manifestly of Roman origin.

¹ Vallancey's Irish Grammar, first edit. p. 8.

^k Dublin, 1782, 8vo.

^l Hist. Cornwall, chap. 6. p. 21.

but though this inquiry may prove their eastern descent, it doth not pretend to prove that they had the use of letters. The rude state of the Britons was such, that they had no use for letters; besides we are told that the *British Druids* did not commit their precepts to writing, but impressed them on the memory of their pupils.

Mr. Borlase informs us^m that the Phenicians came to this island for articles of commerce, more than six hundred years before Christ, but it doth not appear that they taught the inhabitants the use of letters, indeed the contrary hath been shewn by Mr. Whitaker and others; and adds, that they carried on their commerce with the Britains with the greatest secrecy; so much so, that a Phenician vessel, if pursued by a Roman, chose to run upon a shoal and suffer shipwreck, rather than discover the coast, track, or path, by which another nation might come in for a share of so beneficial a commerce, and therefore it is to be presumed, that their policy prevented them from instructing the ancient inhabitants of Britain in the use of letters.

An opinion daily gains credit among the learned, that arts and letters first took their rise in the northern parts of Asia, and that they were cultivated in those parts, long before they were practised in Phenicia or Egypt.ⁿ Some travelled southwards, others staid behind, and those who afterwards emigrated from the east, were generally called SCYTHIANS, and sometimes HUNNS, who overspread the northern parts of Europe. Many settlements were made in Germany long before the Christian æra.^o

The most ancient Greeks comprehended two-thirds of Europe, under the name of CELTO-SCYTHÆ: *Veteres Græcorum scriptores* (says Strabo, lib. 2) *universas gentes septentrionales Scythas et Celto-Scythas appellaverunt*. This author says in his first book, that the name of *Celtiberians* and *Celto-Scythians*, were given to those people who lived towards the western parts of Europe; his words are, *Celtæ et Iberi, aut mixto nomine Celtiberi ac Celto-Scythæ appellati sunt*. It should seem that the provinces of

^m Hist. Cornwall, p. 28 and 30.

ⁿ See Buffon's Natural Hist. Strahlenberg's Travels. Mr. Wise has introduced several facts which favour this opinion.

^o This is abundantly proved by Mascon's

Hist. of the ancient Germans, and by Mr. Gibbon in his History of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, vol. ii. p. 561, 577, 582, and vol. iii. p. 160.

Europe, as well towards the west, as the north, were full of Celtæ; for Ephorus, who lived before the reign of Aléxander the Great, says, Celtica was of a prodigious extent.

It is, in our opinion, probable, that the interior parts of Europe were immediately peopled from the northern parts of Asia; the maritime parts from Phenicia, and the southern and western parts of that quarter of the globe. If this be so, it is not surprizing that some eastern customs prevailed in Great Britain and in Ireland, and that many Celtic words are still preserved both in the Irish and in the Welsh languages; in truth it would be extraordinary if it was otherwise.

In order to discover what real pretensions the Irish have to the early use of letters, for which they so fervently contend, it is necessary to examine their Stone Monuments, their Coins, their Manuscripts, and to apply to the Historians of that country.

There are great numbers of pillars and monuments of stone in Ireland, as well rude, as wrought with various knots, figures, and devices, and some of these latter sort, are evidently of Pagan antiquity. There are also a great number of inscribed monuments; but the letters upon the most ancient of them, are apparently of Roman, and Roman-British original; and none of these inscribed monuments are so ancient, as to prove that the Irish were possessed of Letters before the Romans had intercourse with the Britons; though they prove that they had Letters before the arrival of St. Patrick in that kingdom, which Mr. Whitaker, with great probability of truth, says, were waisted over from the Caledonians, who used the Roman Letters. The learned and industrious Sir James Ware, who was the Camden of his age and nation, says, that the Irish Alphabet was borrowed from the British, and that the Saxon characters were nearly the same as the Irish; and adds, that Mr. Camden inclined to this opinion.*

With respect to the ancient Coins of the Irish, the same learned antiquary, Sir James Ware, mentions several fabulous accounts of mints,

* See my two volumes of drawings of Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland; and Sir J. Ware's Antiquities of Ireland, edit. Harris, vol. ii. p. 127. 135. 143. 144.

† Ibid. p. 18.

Ibid. p. 204.

for coinage of money amongst the Irish, before the Christian æra, which he reprobates; and adds, "These notions seem to have been taken up from a fondness to which the Irish have been much addicted, of straining facts out of Etymologies;" and observes, "that it would be more to the purpose to shew some specimens of the coins of this early mintage, which yet hath never been done, or attempted to be done, at least with any degree of certainty." He then proves, from the Annals of Ulster, "that when gold and silver were paid and given upon different occasions, so late as the twelfth century, it was reckoned by weight; and that it did not appear whether it was coined or not."

There are no Irish coins, inscribed with letters, till long after this time, except the coins struck by some Saxon and Danish Kings, who made incursions, or visited that country, and struck money there in the Saxon or Danish manner.*

Hence it appears, that the Irish have neither written monuments, nor coins, to prove their pretensions to the use of letters at so early a period as they contend for. The tables of Wood, upon which they are said to have written, no author of any authority ever pretended to have seen. But the evidence which we might have expected to have derived from ancient manuscripts is defective indeed; for the oldest Irish manuscript which we have discovered is the Psalter of Cashel, written in the latter end of the tenth century.†

We must have further recourse to the testimony of historians, concerning the use of letters amongst the ancient Irish. The last mentioned author observes, that the ancient history of Ireland is involved in fables; and he adduces strong arguments to prove, that Ireland was first peopled from Britain; but the Irish writers lay great stress upon the authority of a book called, *Lecane* ‡ a ms. about three hundred and eighty years old; a

* My late friend Mr. Duane informed me, that he hath seen coins struck in Ireland by Anlaf king of Northumberland, Cythric, Ethelred, and Canute.

† Ware's *Antiq. of Ireland*, vol. iii. p. 64.

‡ This ms. Mr. E. Lhuys (in his *Archæologia*, p. 435) says, was in his time in the library of Trinity College, in Dublin, (D. 19.)

miscellaneous collection which abounds so greatly in fables and absurdities, that an intelligent reader would as soon believe any of the tales related in that collection, as the one so much insisted on by the Irish,

and as great stress has been laid upon it, by the advocates for the fabulous histories of Ireland, our curious readers may wish to see its contents, which are as follow: 1. A Treatise of Ireland, and its division into provinces, with the history of the Irish Kings and Sovereigns, answerable to the general history; but nine leaves are wanting, p. 10.—2. How the race of Milcsius came into Ireland, and of their adventures, since Moses's passing through the Red Sea, 11.—3. Of the descent and years of the Ancient Fathers, 13.—4. A catalogue of the Kings of Ireland in verse, 41.—5. The maternal genealogies and degrees of the Irish Saints, 43.—6. The genealogies of our Lady, Joseph, and several other Saints mentioned in scripture, 44.—7. An alphabetical catalogue of Irish Saints, 56.—8. The sacred antiquity of the Irish Saints in verse, 58.—9. Cormac's life, 59.—10. Several transactions of the Monarchs of Ireland, and their provincial Kings, 60.—11. The history of Eogain Mor Knight, as also of his children and posterity, 62.—12. O'Neil's pedigree, 64.—13. Several battles of the Scept of Cinet Ogen, or tribe of Owen, from Owen Mac Neil Mac Donnoch, 67.—14. Manne the son of king Neal, of the Nine Hostages and his family, 69.—15. Fiacha, the son of Mac Neil, and his scept, *ib.*—16. Leogarius, son of Nelus Magnus, and his tribe, 71.—17. The Connaught book, 72.—18. The book of Fiachrach, 78.—19. The book of Uriel, 86.—20. The Leinster book, 93.—21. The descent of the Fochards or the Nolars, 105.—22. The descent of those of Leix, or the O'Mores, 106.—23. The descent of Decyes of Munster, or the Ophelans, 109.—24. The coming of Muscrey to Moybreagh; and of those of Mus-

cretire, 112.—25. A commentary on the antiquity of Albany, now called Scotland, 118.—26. The descents of some Scepts of the Irish, different from those of the most known sorts, that is, of the posterity of Lugad Firth, 119.—27. The Ulster book, 123.—28. The British book, 148.—29. The Uraccept, or a book for the education of youth, written by K. Comfoilus Sapiens, 151.—30. The genealogies of St. Patrick, and other Saints; as also an etymology of the hard words in the same treatise, 163.—31. A treatise of several prophecies, 166.—32. The laws, customs, exploits, and tributes of the Irish Kings and Provincials, 184.—33. The treatise of Eva and the famous women of ancient times, 239.—34. A poem that treats of Adam and his posterity, 198.—35. The Munster book, 203.—36. A book containing the etymology of all the names of the chief territories and notable places in Ireland, 231.—37. Of the several invasions of Clan Partholan, Clannavies, Fir bolg. Tuatha de Danaan, and the Milesians into this land of Ireland, 264.—38. A treatise of the most considerable men of Ireland, since the time of the Milesians, to the time of Dathi Mac Fiachrach king of Ireland, 286.—39. The reigns of the Kings of Ireland from the time of Leogarius, the son of Nelus Magnus, alias Neale of the nine hostages, to the time of Roderick O'Connor, monarch of Ireland, 306. Bishop Nicolson says, that this book was not in the Dublin library in his time, and adds, that Dr. Raymond assured him, that it was lodged at Paris, by Sir John Fitzgerald in the reign of king James II.—See Nicolson's Historical Library, part iii. p. 18 and 56.

namely, that the Milesian Colony taught the use of letters in Ireland many centuries before the Christian æra. Mr. Innes, in his Essay on the Antiquities of Scotland and Ireland, and Mr. James Macpherson, in the third edition of his Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, produce incontestible evidence to invalidate the reports of the Irish. These authors contend, that Ireland was first peopled from Britain; that the former nation was so far from being the seat of polite learning for many ages before the neighbouring nations, or even Greece itself, had emerged from ignorance, as hath been pretended, that they were generally deemed by the most respectable writers of antiquity, to have been less civilized than any of their neighbours. That the manners of the old Irish were inconsistent with the knowledge of letters; that the Ogham was a species of Stenography, or writing in Cypher; and these authors conclude, with decisive proofs against the pretended literature of the ancient Irish. They invalidate the accounts of the emigration of the Milesian Colony, and dispute their pretended extraction from any of the nations of Scandinavia. Great stress hath been laid, as appears above, by the advocates for the antiquity of letters amongst the Irish, that their alphabet differs from all others in name, order, number, and power. These arguments were adopted by those who contended for the antiquity of the Runic letters, which have been confuted. Mr. Innes, in his essay above quoted, p. 446, delivers it as his opinion, that the *Beth Louis Nion*, or Alphabet of the Irish, was nothing but an invention of the Irish Seanachies, who, since they received the use of Letters, put the Latin Alphabet into a new arbitrary order, and assigned to each letter the name of some Tree; and that this was not a genuine alphabet of the Irish in ancient times, or peculiar to them; but was a bare inversion of the Latin alphabet.

Colonel Vallancey* gives three different alphabets of the Irish language, which vary from each other in name, order, and number; the first consists of twenty-five letters, the second of twenty-six, and the last of seventeen. As for the Irish letters being different in power from those of other nations, it must be observed, that the powers of letters

* Irish Grammar, p. 9, 10, & 28.

differ in every language, and the mode of pronouncing the same letters is various in different countries: the Irish Characters are said to be of Asiatic original—granted—But they appear to have been transmitted to the inhabitants of that country from those who had adopted the Roman letters.

We have given decisive proofs of this fact, from several Irish mss. which are engraven in the twenty-second plate. It is singular, but it is no less true, that the Norman characters were generally used in England from the coming of William the First, and that the Saxon characters were intirely disused in the very beginning of the twelfth century; but the Irish and Scots preserved the ancient forms of their characters till the end of the sixteenth century.*

The *Gaëlic*, or *Erse* language, used in the Highlands of Scotland, and the *Iberno Gaëlic*, are nearly the same, and their letters are similar to each other, as appears by comparing the different specimens in the twenty-second plate.†

In the first column of this plate, are specimens of eight different mss. written in the *Gaëlic* or *Erse* tongue, which is confessedly a dialect of the Celtic. These mss. are now in my library, by the favour of some friends, who procured them from the Highlands of Scotland.‡

The first and most ancient specimen of the *Gaëlic* or *Erse* language which I have seen, is taken from a fragment of a work, intituled, *Emanuel*, which, from the forms of the letters, and from the nature of the vellum, may be as old as the ninth or tenth century.

The reading is,

Nº 1. Nirsatimini curio annso.

Iriasin don inntimmairece urgaile ro fas iccriochaibh
na Haffraici muinntiribh nairigh ceadna IS amhlaidh

* The English Monks used corrupted Saxon Characters till the fifteenth century; but they are so deformed that they have very little resemblance to their prototypes; as will appear under the head of modern Gothic Writing.

† Nº 10, in this plate is in different characters, and was probably written by some foreign

Ecclesiastic, who was resident in Ireland, in the latter end of the ninth, or in the beginning of the tenth century.

‡ Nº 2. 7. 8. of those specimens relate to the affairs of Ireland, and may have been written there, or transcribed from some more ancient copies.

iaramh tairla sin. 1. airigh duairrighaibh nocuir ceiss'
 buadha agus leigion, &c. .

Translation.

Observe this, or Nota bene.

Such dissensions grew up between the nobles of Africa as had not happened before this time, *i. e.* a certain noble of power and of learning who had often been victorious, &c.

The second specimen is taken from a ms. on vellum, in small quarto, containing Annals of Ireland, and of some of the northern parts of Scotland, genealogies of Scotch and Irish families, with relations of achievements performed by their ancestors. This ms. seems to have been written in the thirteenth century.

It is to be read,

Ri ro gab astair righi for Eirinn feact naill iodhain
 Eochaid feidlech mac Finn mac Roigeain ruaigh, mac
 Easamhain camhna do sil ri faith squit or. tur neam
 ruaigh alle orus do sil Rifaith squit gach gaibhail do
 gabh Eirinn ach ceasair na ma. Is air at bearta
 Eochaidh feidhleach cach he. 1. innraic la cach in ri sin.

Translation.

There was formerly a King who reigned over Ireland, viz. Eochy Feileach, son of Finn, son of Roigh ruaigh, son of Easaman Eamna of the seed of Rifaith Scuit, from the Tower of Nimrod; for Ireland was never conquered but by the Seed of Rifaith Scuit, except by Keasar. He was named Eochy Feileach, for his generosity, honesty, and faithfulness, and was beloved by all.

N° 3, is taken from a moral or religious tract, which seems to have been written also in the thirteenth century, and is to be read,

A Thighearna cred he sud urt. Is i sud do phiansa agus
 pian i marbhaidh dom hic asumhla ur in taisgeul. Gidh

be do nì goid beg no mor aca nach inan pian doibh ach asi
sud is dighaltus do luchd bheireas nì a haitibh coisearca
agus cohairidhe in luchd

Translation.

Lord what is that from thee. That is the punishment appointed by thee, even the punishment of death to the disobedient children of the Gospel. Whoever of them shall steal less or more shall not be subjected to the same pains; but that is the vengeance appointed for such as shall steal any thing out of consecrated places, and especially those

N° 4 is taken from a treatise on Grammar, written in the Gaëlic or Erse tongue in the latter end of the fifteenth century; and is to be read,

Deinimh deineamh fear deanaimh deinimh Deas
denta dhamh nì dhuit aca uile as fear deanta neith
me doibr cù as fear denaimh agus deanmha on denamh as
fear deanmha on deineamh as fear deinimh agus
deinmhe on deineamh as fear deinmhe on deinimh
anuair ata taoibhreim gan chasadh aca mion cadrum.

Translation.

Deanamh, deineamh, *masculine*: deainimh, *feminine*. As dentà dhamh nì dhuit, (i. e. *made for you, not for me*) is common. As fear deanta neith me, (i. e. *I am a working man*). As fear denaimh 7 deanmha, *came from denam, to do, to make, to work*. So deinmhe from deainim, when the genitive case makes no alteration.

N° 5 is taken from a Glossary of the Irish language, a fair ms. on paper, written in the latter end of the fourteenth, or in the beginning of the fifteenth century, the initial letters of which are much ornamented. The specimen is to be read:

Foghal foghail ort a tuag foghal agus ag foghail an
baile, C. pearsana oibridh gan do nith iad uile foghal
foghail faghail faghail, sealg seilg, uaim ed raineis
eirghe in meirghe teas bhail liambuinn coimhling
deithir athchuinghidh oirbeart oirbheart oh bron
dionim,

Translation.

Foghail, *plunder*; foghail ort, *thou art plundered*; atu ag feghall, (*is here written for ata tu ag foghall*) *thou art plundering, and robbing the town, are the first persons active without d.*^b

N^o 6, is taken from a ms. containing some poems in the Gaëlic or Erse tongue, written in the fifteenth century. This specimen is to be read,

* Or Mac Muir-	Cathal Mac Muirnuigh * cecinit. ^c
unigh.	Do islich onoir Gaoidheal,
† Sgaoileann.	Snaidhm a raith do ro-sgaoil,†
	Scol an arduighthe ar n dol diobh,
	Ambun laghduighthe alain ghníomh.
	Thug an eighnamh ceim argoul,
	Ortha do fhill a bhfortun,
	Crioch araith arn abhrath bheas;
	Do chaith a rath a reinheas.
	Do chlaochlo a los a leagtha
‡ Anuas	Cadhus Uird anuas ‡ leachta;
leachta	
Nach.	Nac feas liaidh chabhartha a geneadh,
	An diaidh an orera anmínead.

Translation.

	Cathal (Charles) Mac Muirnuigh sung.
	The honour (renown) of the Gael is lowered,
§ Knot of their	Their protectors § are dispersed wide,
prosperity is dis-	The method (means) of raising themselves has failed them
solved.	Their chief (stock) of renowned actions is diminished.
	Their wisdom has (stepped back) retired,
	Fortune has turned upon them,
** End.	The special consequence ** of our dark (black) morals;
	Their prosperity has spent (run out) its period.

^b There appears a strange confusion of persons in this specimen.

^c A family of Mac Muirich's were bards to the family of Clanranold for centuries back,

till upon the death of the late Clanranold, the land was taken from their representative. Whether one of them was the author of it, is difficult to say.

The priviledge of the order of their nobility,††,
 Was changed with the design of throwing it down;
 Will not relieving Physicians examine their wounds
 After their sudden destruction.††

†† Nobles.

†† Or grief of
soul.

Nº 7, is taken from a ms. containing some memoranda relative to the affairs of Ireland and Scotland, written in the fifteenth century; and is to be read,

As so drong dona hug daraib ro choimhed seanchas na
 rean o theachd mhac Milidhe innte gus an aimsirse
 Eimhirigh in gluingheal mac Milidhe as ba e
 Athuirne Ailgeasach
 Seancha Mac Oille Alla
 Ceannfaoladh Mac Oille Alla
 Neidhe Mac Aghna
 Fitheal fíorghaoth
 Flaithri Mac Fithil
 Ciothruadh Mac Fírchogáidh
 Roighne Rosgudhach
 Laithchenn Mac boirchedha
 Torna.

Translation.

These are some of the authors by whom the history of Ireland was recorded from the coming of Milesius's son into it till the present time.

Eimhirg the white kneed, son of Milesius who was called

Athuirne Ailgeasach

Seancha the son of Oile Alla

Ceannfaoladh the son of Oile Alla

Neidhe the son of Agna

Feircheirtne file

Fitheal fíorghaoth

Flaithri the son of Fithéal

Ciothruadh the son of Fírchogáidh

Roighne Rosghudhach
 Lachlane the son of Borghedha
 Torna.

N° 8, is taken from a ms. containing annals of Ireland and Scotland; the reading is,

ANNO MUNDI,
 3304.

Do ghabh Nuadhad fionn fail mac geallchosa
 do shiol Eiremhoin Righe Eirenn 60 bliaghuin
 no fiche bliaghuin gur thuit le Breisrig Mac Art.

Translation.

IN THE YEAR OF THE
 WORLD, 3304.

Nuadhad sionn fail the son of Geallchosa of the race of Herimon, enjoyed the kingdom of Ireland 60 years or 20 years; he fell by Breisri the son of Art.

N° 9, is an alphabet collected from the specimen, N° 5; the abbreviations at the end are, *ao, ci, fr, quam quod, qui, si.*

The tenth specimen in this plate is taken from a ms. in the library of Corpus Christi College in Cambridge, (O. 20.) which contains a copy of a collection of Canons made in a synod of three bishops, namely, Patricius, Auxilius, and Isserninus, for the use of the Irish. These Canons seem to have been transcribed about the tenth century, by some Roman ecclesiastic who was resident in Ireland, because the title is in Uncials, and the last line is in the mixed characters of that age, of which we have spoken above. The rest of these Canons are written in the same characters as the last line of this specimen.

Gratias Agimus Dō Patri, et Filio et Spūi Scō
 Presbiteris et Diaconiḃ et omni Clero. PATRICIUS,
 AUXILIUS, ISSERNINUS, Episcopi salutem.
 Satuis nobis negligentes.

The eleventh specimen in this plate is taken from a ms. in the Bodleian library, (Laud. F.95, fol.75.) which is to be read,

Hibernia insola, inter duos filios principales militis, id est Herimon & Eber in duas partes divisa est. Eber hic australem partem Hiberniæ accepit. Herimon

quidem Septentrionalem partem cum Monarcia accepit. Herimon hic primus
de Scottis omnem Hiberniam regnavit.^d

The following account of this MS. is pasted within the cover.

“ Oxford, August 9, 1673.

“ This book is a copy of the greater part of the book of St. Machuda of Rath, in c. Lismore, and the chronicle of Conga, wherein is contained many divine things, and the most part of the antiquities of the ancientest houses in Ireland; a catalogue of their Kings; of the coming of the Romans into England; of the coming of the Saxons, and of their lives and reigns; a notable calendar of the Irish Saints, composed in verse, eight hundred years ago, with the Saints of the Roman Breviary until that time; a catalogue of the Popes of Rome; how the Irish and English were converted to the Catholic Faith: with many other things, as the reader may find out, to understanding what they contain, let him remember

TULLY CONRY.”

• The twelfth specimen is taken from a MS. in my library, containing two Treatises, the one on Astronomy, the other on the Art of Medicine, written in the latter end of the thirteenth, or in the beginning of the fourteenth century, which is to be read;

Si autem sol minoris esset camditatis, &c. iodhain, Dam hadh lugha caindegheachd
a greine na na talmhuinn gach uile ní . . . do fulaingidh a Dubhra . . . leo
na thigemadhas ann oir da bith scaile na talmhuinn ag sir fhàs air meid agus air
leadas on talamh amach go speir na n ard riunnacadh do a dhorchaidh se a chuid
budh mho aca agus do thigemhadh ecliṫ.

Translation.

If the light of the sun was less than the earth, every thing would be covered with
its shade; as it would proceed northward, the shadow of the earth would be still
increasing in size and breadth from the earth forward to the firmament of the fixed
stars, and would darken the most of them, and there would be an eclipse.

^d Mr. O'Halloran above quoted, gives a full account of the conquests and quarrels of Heber Herimon, which, as he says, distracted their posterity for thirty centuries afterwards.

The figure described.

In the middle of the figure is terra, towards the lower part is sol; betwixt terra and sol is, *solus na greine*, (the light of the sun.) To the right hand of which is, *Scaih na talmuinn dubh ann sna sreulana*, (the shadow of the earth black among the stars); and to the left is, *Speir na greine* (the firmament, or orbit of the sun.) Within the outer circle, towards the right hand is *Speir na nard riunnaga daingin*, (the firmament of the fixt stars); and on the left is, *Na h ard rinnaca air nan dorchadh o scaih na talman*, (the fixt stars darkened by the shadow of the earth).

By the Latin text at the head of each chapter, the Astronomical Treatise appears to be a translation; yet by the argument, it should seem that the writer was the author, because the words "*As I have often said*" frequently occur; yet it may be partly a translation, and partly original. The titles of the chapters are in Latin, and the greatest part of the work is in Irish. Many Latin words seem to have been transcribed from some very ancient Latin ms. for I find *CS* used instead of *X*, as *macsimum* for *maximum*; *c* is generally used instead of *q*, as *catuor* for *quatuor*, *aca* for *aqua*, *acurius* for *aquarius*, &c.; *d* written instead of *t*, as *sicud* for *sicut*. The name of the writer or author of this treatise, Donncha O'Connill, is written at the end in corrupted Roman capitals.

The medicinal treatise was written by Master Petrus Musantini, or Musartini, and begins, *Quoniam in arte medicinali plura inveniunt, vocabla obscura significatioms.*

The thirteenth specimen is taken from a ms. in the Harleian library, (N° 5280) which contains several treatises, of which the following account is given in a memoir prefixed to the volume.

"This ms. is a copy, as appears both by the note in fol. 65. and at the bottom, wherein the transcriber gives his own name, viz. Gillo Trancolourd, son of Tuathall, son of Teig, nicknamed the Crooked O'Clery, and the contents, most of which are contained in other books that are much older, but the language is all of the old stamp, and not easily now to be master'd. It formerly belonged to Cassarlic Mac Naoisi, for so it is set down in the margins of folio 9, b. and folio 65, b. which

at first view, made me imagine it was written before the beginning of the eleventh century, at which time surnames came first to be generally used in Ireland, *Mac Naoisi* being none, and consequently added, as it seemed, by way of distinction to the proper name Cassarlic, as in like cases the custom was before.

The book does not run much upon any one subject in the whole, but a rhapsody or variety of small tracts, some romantic, some historical, and some mixed of both; some moral, and some that seem to be purely legendary, as intirely depending upon the faith and veracity of the authors of them.

The First treatise extends to folio 9, b. it contains seven months sailing in the ocean, about the year of our Lord 700, and the wonderful islands and things there seen during that course by the adventurers, whereof Maolduing, descended of the Eugenic Sept, was the chief leader, who seems to have been a Monk, of the order instituted by Colum Cill, for manuscripts quoted by Colgane, and others appropriate the said discovery and expedition to some of the followers of that Saint.

The Second, is ecclesiastical, handles the books of the Old Testament, and especially that part of the book of Kings, which relates to the Royal Prophet; wherein the Nabla and other musical instruments used in church service are described. This tract takes up three intire leaves, that is, from the end of the former to folio 15.

The Third, is historical, relating to Guary, son of Colman, prince or governor of the province of Connaught, who flourished about the beginning of the seventh century, and was a very pious man, as appears by the passages here related of him. It takes up two leaves, and ends at folio 17.

The Fourth, is historical, and takes in many occurrences of the administration of Canchobhar, prince of Ulster, who lived before the birth of our Saviour. It has the description of the prime seat of that province, called *Eamium Macha*, and the exercises and functions of the Pugiles or great Combatants in those parts, at that time. It ends at fol. 26, a.

The Fifth, is ecclesiastical, relating to the discipline and canons of the Swtican or Irish church. Ends in fol. 29, a.

The Sixth, is moral, and contains the pious admonitions and remarks of Colman, the son of Bcogna, a religious and holy man.

The Seventh is prophetical, and relates to some particular monasteries and churches of Ireland, there named. It is the work of Beg, son of Delth, to which is annexed a prophecy of the pious Fursa (whereof venerable Bede gives an account) of the same kind, and after this a moral poem of the abbot Adamnan, one of the successors of Colum Cill, in the monastery of Ity, with whom the said Bede hath conversed, as appears in his third book, Hist. Eccl. &c. These pieces stretch out to part of the said page, fol. 32.

The Eighth is an old poem, containing the names of many of the Irish Saints.

The Ninth is a moral treatise, part prose and part in metre, extending to fol. 34, a. The rest of that page is concerning the Ultonian Pugils aforesaid. The following page contains an historical poem of some transactions of the reign of Aed Slaine, king of Ireland, in the eighth century, or thereabouts.

The Tenth is a prophecy, foretelling a great calamity in Ireland. It is couched by way of dialogue, between Bricin, or as he is commonly called Barachan, a holy man, and an angel. It ends in fol. 38, a.

The Eleventh is historical, it relates to Dalabuin and Dalcuerb, two great families of the province of Ulster in those days; to which is annexed, part of the amours and courtship of Bais Bandruad, daughter of Uchta Crummaoil and Fachtna Farrahach, fol. 38, b.

The Twelfth gives an account of the Irish militia, under Fion Mac Cumhail, in the reign of Cormac Mac Airt, king of Ireland, and what course of probation or exercise each soldier was to go through before his admission therein, fol. 39, a. Hercunto is added, an account of the six most famous places for hospitality of Ireland in the times of yore, being in the nature of inns, wherein free entertainment was given at the charges of the public, fol. 39, b. Also another historical poem of the slaughter of three princes, each of them bearing the same name of baptism, viz. Aed Slaine, king of Ireland, Aed nicknamed the Yellow King of Imany, and Aed Ron, king of Italy, perpetrated by another Aed, foster brother to Connall Gutbing, a prince of the Cohatian Sept, and in different places all in one day, 39, b; here is a label or small piece inserted, which contains an account of Niall, of the nine hostages, king of Ireland, and his eight sons.

The Thirteenth is historical, giving a passage of one Macdatho, a rich inmate and sportsman of Lynster, who bred and reared up a greyhound, which became so famous for beauty, strength, and swiftness, that it outdid the rest of that kind in the island, whence it was sought for at any price by the princes, so that at one time messengers both of Olil, prince of Connaught, Meibhe his consort, and Conchobhar, king of Ulster, happened to meet at said Mac Dathos house for the same purpose, and this affair has occasioned a great misunderstanding between the said princes.

The Fourteenth is called the concern, or grief of Ulster; the subject is a certain woman called Macha, wife to Crummhac Agnoin, which being extolled, by her said husband, at a public meeting of Ulster, in diminution of two choice coursers of Conchobhar, prince thereof, upon their carrying a prize set from all the horses there at that time, as if the said Macha could outrun them; hereupon the man was seized in order to be punished if he did not make good his words, to redeem whom his wife was sent for; the woman offered several excuses to avoid the match, and amongst the rest, that she was then quick with child; but the husband's liberty being not otherwise to be had, she entered the lists at last, and got the better of the steeds, but from the violence of the action and pains following, she immediately miscarried, and died in a few hours, leaving her curse to the said prince and province for ever, which is said to have stuck close by both, and to have brought heavy judgments upon them, whence the reason of the title aforesaid, viz. The concern or grief of Ulster, it ends folio 43, a. The rest of the page has an account of Conaire, king of Ireland, and his long reign of seventy-seven years, wherein some Irish writers place the birth of our Saviour.

The Fifteenth is historical, and comprehends the circuit of Ireland, made by Athrinne, son of Fortcherne, a famous poet, who flourished before the birth of Christ; part of his poems and others of the same date being here recited, it takes in some of the achievements of the Ultonian pugiles or combatants mentioned above.

The Sixteenth is a romance, the main subject being the taking and sacking of the town or palace of Maolscothack, a fictitious name of a prince, implying tongue charming, or of the sweet and prevailing eloquence. Maccpisi, a bard or poet, recites it to Domnal O'Neil, king

of Ireland, it being so required by the said prince, who made choice of this out of many there named by the bard, fol. 52, sub initium.

The Seventeenth is another romance, the title of it is the fight of Maige Tuire, viz. (the name of a plain), wherein there is an account at large of the Tuatha de Danans, the Clara Neimhs, and the Ferbolgs, supposed to have successively had settlements in Ireland before the Milesians or ancient Irish, which modern Irish writers, as it seems, took for good history, and so pauned it upon many of the natives for such. It reaches to the end of folio 59.

The Eighteenth is mixed of history and fable; this part touches upon the fatal stone, and the manner it was first brought into Ireland, by the said Tuatha de Danans; the other recites some passages of Coun Ceadca-thack, king of Ireland, towards the beginning of the second age of Christianity, and of some of his successors, giving the years of their respective reigns, ends folio 61, b.

The Nineteenth treats of the Ultonian combatants in the reign of Conchebar so often mentioned; to which is added, some account of the royal palace of Tara, and a passage of Olil Olom, king of Munster, and Saidh his consort, daughter to Conn Ceadca-thack, king of Ireland aforesaid.

The Twentieth seems to be romantic; it relates to one Sanchan, a native of Manning, called the Isle of Man in English, fol. 64, a. b.

The Twenty-first is historical; which treats of an expedition of Caibremusc into North Britain, in the contemporary reigns of Cormac Mac Airt, king of Ireland, and Olil Flannberg, king of Munster, ends folio 65, a.

The last is part fabulous and part historical; the first relates to Artaenir, king of Ireland, and a woman come from an isle, where the inhabitants are said to be always in their blooming youth, and never to die, who gives him an account thereof. The second is a passage of the poet Arthrinne, treated of in the sixteenth tract above, with which the ms. ends."

From the above account of this ms. our readers will perceive that little credit is to be given to books which abound in such marvellous and absurd relations. The specimen is to be read;

Poi ri aumrau aircagdaí andeamhain macho fecht naidl edhon Concophur mac Fauctnae. Bai mar deamro inafaith lie hulto Poie siodh, ocus saine 7 suboidbe,

Boi meass rgus claus ocus myfthotadh Poi smacht 7 recht ocus dechflaithius rie reimeass lia halto. Boi mor dordan 7 doirechus ocus 7 dimad isan richtoigh andemhoin. As amhlóidh ieromh boi in techsoin edhon in craebhruadh Conchobhoir fo intamhoil tighé midhcordai Noi nimdodai o tean co fraich. Triucho troicchid ind airdiu cech airaenoic credhumai boi isan tigh, Errscor didceiuar and Stial Arcabor.

Translation.

There was a noble and famous family of Eman Macho named Concop (Concobhac) Mac Factnae, in whose reign the Ultonians were a happy people, enjoying peace and tranquillity, and the land and the seas yielded their produce in abundance. There was at that time law and good government among the Ultonians, and crimes were severely punished, so that they lived in great love and friendship among themselves. In Eamoin (i. e. Eman Macha) was a royal palace, abounding in all things necessary; it was of the order of the Red-branch of Connobar (Connor). All people were there entertained with the necessities of life, and no house within the limits of the sea could be compared to it; it was thirty feet high, the windows ornamented with *credumai* (copper-manufactured, I believe brass) it was a noble house (built) of yew timber, and black oaken floors.

The fourteenth specimen in the twenty-second plate, is taken from an ancient transcript of some of the old municipal laws of Ireland, and a tract called the *Great Sanction, new Law or Constitution of Nine*, made in favour of Christianity, by three kings, three bishops, and three sages. At the top of pages four and eleven in this ms. are certain perpendicular and parallel lines, which the Irish call Oghum, of which mode of writing we shall speak hereafter. This specimen is to be read,

Jasenchas mar conamus arnar
maith. i. e. eneclann mor dotidligeas enect beg no maith
enect, doule donti na dligheann enect, no diri aioie dop-
sain doeib uctha maith do ulce, 7 olc dimaith.

Translation.

This is the Seanchas mpr, pointing out good from evil, and evil from good, &c.*

* Colonel Vallancey has mentioned this book in a number of his "Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis."—It is a very ancient code of laws, much referred to by the title of Seancas, or book of great antiquity.

N° 15, in the same plate, is taken from the *Annales Tigernaci*, amongst the Clarendon mss. at Oxford (N° 3), which annals end in 1407. This specimen is supposed to have been written about that year.

4 ūdcxi

Kl eñ. M°c°c°c°c°vii—Danenn mar ocus dith for ceithribh isin bliaghain sin Mac Uilleim oig. i. concobhur ua Che allaidh saidh an mic righ dir m°, mathamhna. h. nechtain da marbhadh la Fearadach mac mic Domhnaill. h. ceallaidh aclaind mic in eagain a Fill. Catal. h. Concobhuir. mac Righ h. Failghi saidh an mic righ, h. gaisgedhach leithi mogha do mharbhadh la clainn Fearais.

Translation.

Kalends of January, 1407, very hard weather this year, in which great numbers of cattle perished.

Mac William og. i. c. Conner O'Kelly, a noble gentleman, was murdered by Fearadach, son of M'Donall O'Kelly, at Clann, M'Eogan.

Cathal O'Conner, son of the king of O'Faily, a generous noble, and the champion of Leith. Mogha was murdered by the Clan Feorais.*

The sixteenth and seventeenth specimens, are taken from the annals of Ulster, in the Bodleian library, amongst Dr. Rawlinson's mss. (N° 31).^f

Kl Jan Anno Dni. Mccccclxxx°iiii°.

Brian mac Donnchaidh Meaguidhir
in mac righ dob fearr eineach &
Eanghnaina, Gal & gaiscidh
ogus do bhearr aithne air gach
nealadhain, a Eg in btr, ocus

* These *Feorais* afterwards took the name of Birmingham.

^f This ms. is written on vellum, and was formerly in the possession of Sir James Ware;

then in the library of Henry earl of Clarendon, and was afterwards possessed by the duke of Chandos, after whose death it was purchased by Dr. Rawlinson. See Innes's Essay, p. 453.

tabhradh in ti leighfeas beand-
acht air Anmuin.

Translation.

Kalends of January, in the year of our Lord 1484.

Brian Mac Donchu Mac Guire, a noble and valiant Prince, and skilled in all sciences, died. Let the reader pray for his soul.

Kl̃ Jañ anno Dni. 1588. In Giolla

dubh m^c Seain m^c ph^lib m^c

Idhir do mharbhadh daortchor
peileirle Saxonchaibh do bhi ag
oirghiall, ar ndol do m^c Meaguidh-
ir. i. e. Aodh m^c conchonnacht m^c
conchonacht, m^c conchonnacht air
creich orra, agus briseadh ar oir-
ghiolfaibh agus ar Saxain doibh,
gan dioghbhail doibh psin duine
maith uasal sin.

Translation.

Kalends of January, 1588. Giolla Dubh M^c Seann M^c Phillip M^c Guire, was killed by a bullet shot by a Saxon (Englishman) a hireling of the Orgiallachs in Ulster, as M^c Guire, i. e. Hugh M^c Conchonnacht, was plundering them. And the Orgiallachs and the English were defeated without any other loss, but the death of this good gentleman.

The eighteenth and last specimen in the twenty-second plate, is taken from a fragment of the Brehon laws, communicated by Lieutenant-Col. Vallancey, which is to be read,

Dearbthar feitheam fortoig^h cuithe arach.

i. e.

Certain rules for the election of a Chief.

Our thanks are due to the Rev. Mr. James MacLagan, Minister of Blair, in Atholl, Perthshire, and to the Rev. Mr. Stuart, of Killin, Perthshire, and to Colonel Vallancey, for the translations of the Scotch and Irish specimens engraven in the twenty-second plate.

The alphabet beneath the specimen last mentioned is selected from this ms. and differs only from the alphabet N° 9 in the same plate, as one hand-writing doth from another. The abbreviations are, *ie*, *ae*, *do*, *si*, *st*, *ar*.

It is singular that in a work so magnificent and expensive as the *Diplomata Scotiae*, no specimens should have been given of the Gaëlic language and characters; however it appears from the exemplars in the twenty-second plate, that the letters used in the north of Scotland and in Ireland are the same with the Saxon, but somewhat more rude and angular in their forms.

To conclude this head, it is impossible to say, whether all which hath been advanced, will operate upon the minds of those of the Irish nation, who are superstitiously devoted to the legendary tales of their ancestors, for it is in vain to oppose rational doubts, arguments, or even facts, to popular credulity; although we may with just reason suppose, that the fictions which the vanity and patriotism of the Irish have been raising for ages, will gain no credit with the sensible and judicious part of mankind, but will vanish before the strong beams of history and criticism: in truth, all scepticism must vanish by an inspection of the twenty-second plate, wherein we have ocular demonstration that the Erse and Irish characters are the same; and that they are similar to those used by the Saxons in Britain, appears from several Saxon alphabets in the preceding plates; so that those who obstinately persist in asserting that the Irish characters are not derived from the Roman, after what hath been said on this head, must deny the evidence of their senses.*

* Colonel Vallancey hath subjoined to the last edition of his grammar, several tables of the abbreviations which occur in Irish mss. These will be very useful in facilitating the reading of the ancient documents written in that country, and in the northern parts of Scotland. The characters engraven by this

author are similar to ours in plate twenty-two, which are derived from the Roman. It appears from Bede's Eccl. Hist. that there were some learned men in Ireland in the seventh century, but this doth not authenticate the Irish traditions concerning the Milesian colonies.

OF NORMAN WRITING.

HAVING shewn that the letters used in the northern parts of Scotland, and in Ireland, for the notation of the Gaëlic or Celtic language, are derived from the Roman; we shall proceed to speak of the several kinds of writing which prevailed in England, from the coming of William the First, till the seventeenth century. The writing introduced into England by that prince, is usually called Norman, and is composed of letters nearly Lombardic, which were generally used in grants, charters, public instruments, and law proceedings, with very little variation, from the Norman conquest, till the reign of king Edward III. as will appear by inspecting the specimens of royal charters in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth plates. This kind of writing was generally practised by the Irish when they wrote Latin, as appears from their mss. and records, and in Scotland during the same period of time, as the numerous specimens published in Anderson's *Diplomata Scotiæ* abundantly testify. Several specimens of Norman writing, are given in the twenty-third plate, with alphabets, both of capital and small letters; the first of these is taken from a fair book of inquisitions, made in the county of Lincoln, which is preserved in the Cottonian library (Claud. c. 5.) These inquisitions were made in the reign of king Henry the First, for Robert of Caen, the king's eldest natural son, is mentioned amongst the great landholders in the county.^b They must have been taken before the year 1104, because Stephen earl of Brittany, whose name appears in the plate, died in that year; from several circumstances, I conceive them to have been taken in the first year of this king's reign, if so, they were made about fourteen years after the completing of Domesday book.¹

^b He is called Rodbertus Filius Regis. See an account of him in Sandford's *Genealogical History*, p. 45.

¹ Dr. Smith, in his *Catalogue of the Cot-*

tonian library, says, that these inquisitions were taken in the reign of king Henry II. but he is evidently mistaken.

This Specimen is to be read,

In Coringeham Waṽ Habenṽ. v. Hundṽ.

Nigellus de Albaneio habet in Glemesburc viii . c̄ . 7 in Jultorp . i . c̄ . in

Suṽdebi . iiii . b̄.

Comes Stephan⁹ Britannie in Le . 7 Suṽdebi . 7 Jopheim v . c̄ . quas Goffṽ sṽ
Treatune . ṽ

Robt⁹ de Insula in Coringhehā . ii . c̄ . quas . Rič deṽ . pinč . tenet.

Epṽ Linč in Greinghehā . i . c̄ . q̄ Rič sṽ malḡ tenet^k

Raṽ Duncṽsis Epṽ in Clethā . vi . b̄.^l

Hugo de Vallo in Torp . vi . b̄ . 7 in Clethā . vi . b̄.

Alan⁹ de Credun in Blituna . i . c̄ . 7 . vi . b̄ . 7 in Lactuna . iiii . c̄ . 7 . ii . b̄ .
7 . in Scottuna . iiii b̄.

The second and third specimens in the same plate, are taken from the great roll of the pipe of the second year of king Henry II. remaining amongst the records of the pipe at Westminster, and are to be read,

Hurtfordscira Rič de Luei redd Comṽ. de firma de

Hurtfortseṽ et in eleṽ novit. Const'. Militib' de Tēplo xiii s̄. & iiij đ.

In th̄. lvj lī. & xvii. s̄. et

Dorseta. Idem Rič redd Comṽ de firma de Dorseta.

A number of specimens of Norman writing are given in the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth plates, which we conceive, will give our readers a clear idea of the kind of writing which prevailed not only in England, but in different parts of Europe, from the tenth till the fourteenth century.^m

These plates are taken from original charters of the kings of England; they furnish authentic specimens of the modes of writing used in patents and charters, from William I. to Henry VIII. From them we learn the

^k He is called Rodbertus in several places in the ms. He was bishop of Lincoln from 1092 to 1123.

^l Ranulphus (or Ralph Flambard) he was

consecrated June 5, 1099, so that these inquiries were taken after this time.

^m See Walther's *Lexicon Diplomaticum* Göttingen, 1756.

VISIONES in Comitatu LINCOLN. Circa AD. MCC. captae.

WINGEBAY: Wap. Habent. s. Pundr.

de albano habet Ingleme bure. s. c. In Julcop. s. c. In Sumdebi. s. b.

Stephan? britanne In le. In Sumdebi. In Jophem. s. c. qd Goffr fil? creatune. t3

e insula In Coringheba. s. c. qd Ric dem. princ. tenet.

ne In greingheba. s. c. qd Ric fil? malg. tenet.

unelmus epi In derha. s. b.

uallo In Torp. s. b. In Cletha. s. b.

Credim In blitima. s. c. s. b. In Lachima. s. c. s. b. In Scottima. s. b.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N

O P Q R S T U V

a b c d e f g h i j k l m n o p q r s t u v w x y z. 7 æ.

IRISFORISORA Ric. de luer. redd Comp. de firma de hurefort Sey
Elem noac? Const? Milicib de c3plo. xij. s. 7. m. s. d. l. s. ch. l. s. t. 7. x. b. y. s. et

ORSERV. Iuxta Ric. redd Comp de firma de Dorseta.

Exemplar CARTARUM Regum Anglie.

IN NOMINE SCE & INDIVIDUE TRINITATIS

Ego Will^m di^gia rex anglor^m notu^m facio omib^{us} ca^{pi}
posteris q^{ui}m presentib^{us} Archiep^{iscopis}. — Nunc g^o eccl^{esi}e Sei Mar^{ie}
de Bello hanc in p^{ri}mis dignitate^m ~~re~~ali auctoritate conc^{edi}
Gut

H. rex ang^{li} Ric^{ardus} Bassac^{us} z^o de Ver^o. z^o No^o. z^o Baron
omib^{us} fidelib^{us} suis franc^{ie}. — Anglie. de Hertsfolc. pat. Scia
me dedisse — Conrad^{us} Ep^{iscopu}s de Hertsfor^{ie}. c. salubitas Ap^{osto}l^{ice} W^{illel}
ll^o

J^{oh}es de ang^{li} Archiep^{iscopu}s. Ep^{iscopu}s. Abb^{ates}. Comitat^{us}. Justic^{arii} No^o. Baron^{es} z^o Miss^{arii} z^o
fidelib^{us} suis cor^{por}e Anglie. fat. Scia^m q^{uia} concessi Deo z^o Alt^{ari} z^o Mona^{cha} ch^{risti}an^{is} q^{ui}st^{er}ant
ordin^{em} de l^{ib}ro de Tama — z^o Ric^{ardus} de Cus^{us} Arch^{idiaconu}s — Ric^{ardus} de Linc^{ie}. Ap^{osto}l^{ice} S^{an}c^{ti}
ll^o

H. Rex Ang^{li}. z^o Dux Ebor^{ac}ie z^o Aquit^{anie} z^o Comes And^{eg}ie. Archiep^{iscopis}. omib^{us}
meu^m de Quecca mea cu^m lib^{er}atione q^{ue} p^{re}stat. — Ap^{osto}l^{ice} Grinefordan^{is}; H^{er}

R^{ex}. J^{oh}es g^{ra} Rex Ang^{li}. Dux Ebor^{ac}ie Aquit^{anie}. z^o Com^{itis} Andeg^{ie}. Archiep^{iscopis} Ep^{iscopis} Abb^{atib}
Comit^{ibus}. Baronib^{us} Justic^{ariis}. No^o. z^o Omib^{us} balliis de fidelib^{us} suis. Scia^m nos conc^{edi}
z^o hac Carta confirmasse Gul^{terio} Talbot^{us} p^{ro} sequicio suo Manerium de Lintor^{is}
R^{ex}

J^{oh}es de g^{ra} Ric^{ardus} Ang^{li}. Dux Ebor^{ac}ie. Dux H^{er}em^{ie}. Ag^{er}it^{anie}. z^o Com^{itis}
H^{er}em^{ie} — Test^{is}. G^{ul}ter^{us} fil^{ius} p^{ro}p^{ri}et^{is} Com^{itis} Ebor^{ac}ie. — J^{oh}es de g^{ra} J^{oh}is. x^o die Junij Anno Regni n^{ost}ri
J^{oh}an^{is}

styles and titles of each king.* The reader will observe, that the diphthong æ is distinguished by a small stroke under the letter e, particularly in the first specimen, though this distinction was soon afterwards omitted. It is not necessary to say more concerning these plates, as they have been already mentioned.

In Nomine Sanctæ et individuæ Trinitatis Ego Willelmus Dei gratia Rex Anglorum notum facio omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus——Archiepiscopis——Huic igitur Æcclesiæ Sancti Martini de Bello——Hanc in primis dignitatem Regali auctoritate concedo.

(GUIL. I.)

Henricus Rex Anglorum Ricardo Basset et Alberico de Ver et Vicecomitibus et Baronibus et omnibus fidelibus suis Francis et Anglicis de Nortfolc, salutem Sciatis me dedisse——Ebrardo Episcopo de Nortwic Centum solidatas apud Westm.

(HEN. I.)

Stephanus Rex Anglorum Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Justiciarijs, Vicecomitibus, Baronibus et Ministris, et omnibus fidelibus suis totius Anglie, salutem. Sciatis quia concessi Deo et Abbati et Monachis Cisterciensis Ordinis de Parco de Tama——Teste Roberto de Caisn' (Caisineto, i. e. Cheney) Archidiacono, et Ricardo de Luci, Apud Oxen.

(STEPH.)

Henricus Rex Angliæ et Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ et Comes Andegaviæ——Archiepiscopis——Ministerium meum de Esnecca mea cum liberatione que pertinet——Apud Oxinefordam.

(HEN. II.)

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dux Normanniæ Aquitaniæ et Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbatibus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciarijs, Vicecomitibus et omnibus Ballivis ac fidelibus suis, salutem. Sciatis nos concessisse et hac Carta confirmasse Gilleberto Talebot' pro servicio suo Manerium de Linton'.

(RIC. I.)

Johannes Dei gratia Rex Anglie Dominus Hibernie Dux Normannie Aquitanie et Comes Andegavie——Teste Galfridus filius Petri Comitis Essex'.——Apud Westm' XI. die Junij Anno Regni nostri primo.

(JOHANNES.)

*The first specimen is taken from the Conqueror's foundation charter of Battle Abbey, which is preserved in the Harleian library.

The second is amongst the Charters in the Cottonian library, and all the rest are from originals in the author's library.

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hybernæ Dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopus, Episcopus——'Hijs testibus.——Data per manum nostram apud Wodestok Vicesimo primo Die Augusti Anno Regni nostri Tricesimo secundo.

(HEN. III.)

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hiberniæ et Dux Aquitaniæ Omnibus——In cujus rei testimonium.——Teste me ipso apud Cantuariam decimo Die Julij Anno Regni nostri Tricesimo tercio.

(EDW. I.)

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hiberniæ et Dux Aquitaniæ Omnibus——In cujus rei testimonium.——Teste me ipso apud Norhampton Undecimo Die Augusti Anno Regni nostri secundo.

(EDW. II.)

Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ Dominus Hiberniæ et Dux Aquitaniæ Omnibus——In cujus rei——Teste me ipso apud Westm' XVI Die Julij Anno Regni nostri Quarto.

(EDW. III.)

Ricardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ Omnibus——In cujus——Teste——Vicesimo tercio Die Februarii Anno Regni nostri tercio.

(RIC. II.)

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ Omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos presentes litere pervenerint——In cujus——Teste me ipso apud Westm' duodecimo die Junij Anno Regni nostri tercio.——Per ipsum Regem——Rome.

(HEN. V.)

Henricus, &c. Script' &c. apud Bury Sancti Edmundi xxv Die Februarij Anno, &c. XXXV.

(HEN. VI.)

Henricus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ et Dominus Hiberniæ Omnibus Ballivis et fidelibus suis——In cujus——Patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westm' Quinto Die Octobr' Anno Regni nostri Quarto.

(HEN. VII.)

Henricus Octavus Dei gratia Angl' et Franc' Rex, fidei defensor Dominus Hiberniæ in terra supremum caput Anglicanæ Ecclesiæ Omnibus.——Teste Ricardo Ryche Milite, apud Westm' Vicesimo Die Marcij Anno Regni nostri Tricesimo.

(HEN. VIII.)

About the reign of king Richard II. variations took place in writing records and law proceedings; the specimens of the charters from the

Tab. XV. p. 142.

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!w:1

Edw. 2

Edw. 3

Ric:2

Hen:5

Hen: 6

Hen:7

Hen:8

reign of king Richard II. to that of king Henry VIII. as given in the twenty-fifth plate, are composed partly of characters called Set Chancery and Common Chancery, and of some of the letters called Court-hand; which three different kinds of writing are partly from the Norman, and partly from the modern Gothic. See the alphabets in the twenty-sixth plate. The Chancery letters so called, were used for all Records which passed the great seal, and for other proceedings in Chancery; and the Court-hand letters were used in the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas for fines, recoveries, placita, adjudicata, &c.

The specimen in the twenty-fifth plate of the 35th of king Henry VI. is taken from an original letter of that king in the Author's library, which is written in the running hand of that time.

Although the writing called the Law English, is much like the modern Gothic, we shall mention it in this place, because the instruments written by the English lawyers, in the English language, from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, are in characters very different from those used by our Ecclesiastics and Monks, which last is descended from the Saxon, as will presently appear under the head of modern Gothic writing. The twentieth plate contains several specimens of this first kind of writing. The eleventh number in this plate, is taken from the Patent Roll of the 43d of king Henry III. (M. 15,) and contains a curious specimen of the English language of that time, which is to be read,

Henr^e thurg Godes fultume King on Englen loande Lhoavercd on Yrland Duk
on Norm. on Aquitain 7 Eorl on Anjou. send igreteinge to alle hise holde ilærde
7 ilæwedl on Huntendon Schir—that wifen ge wel alle that we willen and unnen
that that ure rædesmen alle other the moare del of heom that beoth ichosen thurg
us and thurg thæt loandes folk on ure kuneriche habbeth iden and schullen don
in the worthnesse of Gode and on ure treowthe for the freine of the loande thurg
the besigte of than to foren iscide radesmen beo stedefast and ilestinde in alle thinge
abuten sende. And we haaten alle ure treowe in the treowthe that heo us ogen
thæt heo stedefastliche heilden and sweren to healden and to werien the isetnesses
that beon i maked and beon to makien thurg than toforen iscide rædesmen.

Which being translated into modern English is,

Henry, by God's help. King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy
and of Aquitain, and Earl of Anjou, sendeth greeting to all his faithful Clerks and

Laics in Huntingdonshire: This knowe ye all well that we will, and grant, that which our Counsellors all or the most part of them that be chosen by us and the people of our land, have done and shall do for the honour of God, and of their allegiance to us, for the benefit of the land, by the advice or consideration of our foresaid Counsellors, be steadfast and performed in every thing for ever. And we command all our liege people in the fealty that they owe to us, that they steadfastly hold, and swear to hold and to defend the statutes which be made and shall be made by those aforesaid Counsellors.

The thirteenth specimen in the same plate is taken from a deed in Dr. Rawlinson's collection, now preserved in the Bodleian library, dated the 14th of August, 18th Edw. III. (1347). This deed is a settlement made upon the marriage of a son of Sir John Mowbray, Knt. with Margery the daughter of Sir John Depden, and is to be read,

This Indenture made the xiiiith day of August the xviiith yere of Kyng Edward the third, Witnesseth that it is converted.

This instrument is engraven by Dr. Rawlinson, to which the seal of Depden is appendent. We take this opportunity of observing, that wills and settlements were first written in English in this reign, which had been generally written in Latin from the Norman conquest.

The fourteenth specimen in the same plate, is written in the Chancery-hand of the time; it is taken from the Parliament Roll of the 21st of king Richard II. and contains part of the confession of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, uncle to that king, which is to be read as follows,

I Thomas of Wodestoke, the viii day of Septembre, the zeer of my Lord the Kyng on and twenty, be the virtue of a Commission of my Lord the Kyng the same zeer directed to William Rykyl justice, the which is comprehend more pleynty in the forseyd commission, knowleche, that I was on wyth steryng of other men to assent to the making of a Commission.

Also in that that I was in place ther it was communed and spoken in manere of deposail of my lyege Loord.

N^o fifteen, is taken from an original petition in parliament, in the Tower of London, in the reign of king Henry IV. and is to be read,

Memoran^t that the kyng by th^e advise of his counseil hath ordeined, graunted and appointed, that al maner assignements by tailles rered or made.

N^o sixteen, is taken from another petition in the Tower, and is to be read,

Besechith humbly youre pource servaunt Thomas Marchyngton, one of the Clerks of your honorable Chapell to graunt hym the pension of Ely.

N^o seventeen, is from a petition in parliament in the reign of king Edward IV. and is to be read,

Provided also, that the acte of resumpcion, or any other acte, estatute, orderiaunce or prouisioun, in this present Parliament made or to be made.

Eighteen, is taken from a pardon under the signet of king Henry VII. granted in the twenty-first year of his reign to Thomas Barker, and is to be read,

Henry, by the grace of God, king of Englonde and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, to all our Officers true liege-men and subgetts.

N^o nineteen is from an instrument of king Henry VIII. and is to be read,

Henry the eight, by the grace of God, King of England and of Fraunce, defensor of the feith Lord of Ireland.

The twenty-sixth plate contains alphabets of the Modern Gothic, the Old English, the set Chancery, the common Chancery, and the Court-hand; the first of which, began to take place in England in the twelfth century, as will presently appear; the second, about the middle of the fourteenth century, the third and fourth, in the decline of the same century, and are still used in the inolments of letters patents, charters, &c. and in exemplifications of recoveries; the fifth was contrived by the English lawyers, and took its rise about the middle of the sixteenth century, and continued till the beginning of the late reign, when it was abolished by law. The Court-hand characters were nothing more than the Norman characters corrupted and deformed to so great a degree, that they bore very little resemblance to their prototypes. In the six-

teenth century, the English lawyers engrossed their conveyances and legal instruments in characters called Secretary, which are still in use.

OF WRITING
IN FRANCE.

The French call their writing, by the names of the different *races* of their kings in whose times they were written: these were the *Merovingian*, the *Carlovingian*, the *Capetian*, the *Valesian*, and the *Bourbonian*. For instance, the writings of France, from the fifth, to the middle of the eighth century, are called *Méroyingian*, because Merovæus and his descendants, exercised regal authority in France, during that period.

It has already been observed, that the Gauls adopted the Roman letters;° the forms of the letters used in France, from the beginning of the eighth, to the middle of the tenth century, are very similar to those used in England, during the same period, except in those instances where we find the pure Saxon. This will appear, by comparing the specimens in the twenty-third plate, with those given us by the learned authors of the *Nouveau traité de Diplomatique*, in their history of the writings of France. Various modes of writing were afterwards practised by the French, of which several specimens are given in our twenty-seventh plate.

Merovingian began in France soon after the time of Merovæus, son of Pharamond, who was made king in the year of Christ 460; this race ended with Childeric, who died in 752. The Caroline or Carolinian race, properly began with Pepin, who was made king of France, upon the death of Childeric. This prince was succeeded by Charlemagne emperor of the west, A.D. 814, whose line in France ended with Lewis V. A.D. 987.

° The Sicambri from whom the present French kings are descended, were originally Scythians; they were placed on the banks of the Danube; Antenor their first king, died ante Christ, 443. The last king of this race was *Antharius*, who began to reign about seventy-four years before Christ, and was slain by the Gauls, thirty-nine years before the Christian æra; after this king's reign, these people were called *Franks*, from his son and

successor *Francus*, who passed an edict for that purpose, at the request of his subjects. The kingdom of the Franks, ended with Marcomir, who was slain by the Romans, in 393, he ordained, that the Franks should elect no more kings, but dukes. Pharamond, who married Argotta, the grand daughter of Marcomir, was made king of France, about the year 420, and from him all the monarchs of France are descended.

A L P H A B E T S .

Tab. XXVI p. 146.

lern let.	Old English.	Set Chancery	Common Chancery.	Court Hand.	Secretary.	Francisc. Es. M. S. (16th c.) lat. A. 7.	SECRET ALPHABETS.		RUSSIAN.		
									Figure let. Mod.	Name	Power
A	Aa	Aa	Aa	Aa	Aa	Aa	ZI a	Ж a	А	As	a
B	Bb	Bb	Bb	Bb	Bb	Bb	† b	Б b	Б	Book	b
C	Cc	Cc	Cc	Cc	Cc	Cc	Х c	В c	В	Vadi	vorf
D	Dd	Dd	Dd	Dd	Dd	Dd	Π d	Г d	Г	Glaghol	gh
E	Ee	Ee	Ee	Ee	Ee	Ee	CO e	Д e	Д	Dobra	d
F	Ff	Ff	Ff	Ff	Ff	Ff	Х e	Е e	Е	Yef	orye
G	Gg	Gg	Gg	Gg	Gg	Gg	Р g	Ж g	Ж	Savtio	g
H	Hh	Hh	Hh	Hh	Hh	Hh	Л h	З z	З	Zido	z
I	Ii	Ii	Ii	Ii	Ii	Ii	М i	И h	И	Zamle	z
K	Kk	Kk	Kk	Kk	Kk	Kk	Д h	Н h	Н	Bie	ior o
L	Ll	Ll	Ll	Ll	Ll	Ll	П i	К h	К	E	ior e
M	Mm	Mm	Mm	Mm	Mm	Mm	П m	Л h	Л	Kawho	korc
N	Nn	Nn	Nn	Nn	Nn	Nn	Г n	М h	М	Ludee	l
O	Oo	Oo	Oo	Oo	Oo	Oo	Ц o	Н h	Н	Muiflat	m
P	Pp	Pp	Pp	Pp	Pp	Pp	В p	О h	О	Nash	n
Q	Qq	Qq	Qq	Qq	Qq	Qq	Δ q	П i	П	Ohn	o o o
R	Rr	Rr	Rr	Rr	Rr	Rr	У r	Р m	Р	Pokoy	p
S	Ss	Ss	Ss	Ss	Ss	Ss	Ф s	С n	С	Rye	r
T	Tt	Tt	Tt	Tt	Tt	Tt	7 t	Т n	Т	Slove	s
U	Uu	Uu	Uu	Uu	Uu	Uu	С u	У o	У	Tvendo	t
V	Vv	Vv	Vv	Vv	Vv	Vv	2 u	Ф p	Ф	Eak	u oo
X	Xx	Xx	Xx	Xx	Xx	Xx	Ф x	Х q	Х	Phort	f ph
Y	Yy	Yy	Yy	Yy	Yy	Yy	Ψ y	Ц q	Ц	Dhar	ch
Z	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Zz	Ψ z	Ч r	Ч	Tye	y
								Ш r	Ш	Tcherof	yan
								Щ r	Щ	Shaw	sh
								Ъ r	Ъ	Syhan	syh
								З r	З	Yere	ye
								Д r	Д	Yerui	ui
								Е r	Е	Yeor	e
								Ж r	Ж	Yat	ye
								З r	З	Xe	x
								И r	И	Yi	yi
								Я r	Я	Yfe	yf
								Ѧ r	Ѧ	Tian	th
								ѧ r	ѧ	Yifofa	n

The Capetian race began with Hugh Capet, who succeeded Lewis V. and ended with Charles IV. A.D. 1327.

The Valesian race, began with Philip IV. the successor of Charles IV. and ended with Henry III. the last of this line, who was slain in 1589.

The Bourbonian line, began with Henry IV. A.D. 1589, whose descendants filled the throne of France, till the late Revolution.

GERMAN WRITING. It is generally admitted, that the ancient Germans had not the use of letters, before their intercourse with the Romans; the testimony of Tacitus is decisive on this subject. "*Literarum secreta viri pariter ac feminae ignorant.*" Hence we conclude, that the Teutons, who anciently inhabited the neighbouring coast, and islands of the Baltic Sea, had no letters, till their descendants, who settled in Belgic Gaul, obtained them from the Romans. The Teutonic alphabet given in the first plate, is evidently deduced from the Roman, and is nothing more than the Roman varied by the Germans, which, having been much deformed, was improved by Charlemagne in the ninth century, and continued till the twelfth, when this kind of writing was succeeded by the modern Gothic, which prevails in Germany, and in several of the northern countries of Europe at this time.

MODERN GOTHIC. The writing called Modern Gothic, was first practised in Germany about the latter end of the ninth, or in the beginning of the tenth century, though it did not take place in the other nations of Europe till the twelfth. The letters in the first specimen of the twenty-seventh plate, are some of them Lombardic, and others approach towards the modern Gothic. This specimen is taken from a ms. in the Cottonian library [Caligula A.7.] written in Germany, in the *Franco-Theotisc* or *Teutonic*^p dialect, in the tenth century, which was probably transcribed from one more ancient.

^p The Franco-Teutonic, which was spoken in Germany and Gaul, is derived from the Mæso-Gothic, formerly spoken in Bulgaria. The Islandic, is derived from the Scando-Gothic. Hickes's *Grammatica Franco-Theotisca*.

In the thirteenth century the Saxon þ, (or *th*) was corrupted, as appears by the eleventh and twelfth specimens in the twentieth plate; in the fourteenth, it acquired the form of the Saxon p (*w*), and before the end of the same century, that of the modern Gothic p, which was discontinued in the fifteenth century. See the specimens from the tenth to the fifteenth in the twenty-seventh plate. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth specimens in this plate, are taken from mss. in my library, written in England in the fifteenth century; the first of which was written about the year 1430, the second about 1450, and the third about 1480. The last of the English specimens, is from a plate of brass placed in Macclesfield church in Cheshire, in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Various modes of writing took place in France, under the latter kings of the *Capetian* race, and the monarchs of the *Valesian* line, who flourished from the middle of the twelfth, to the sixteenth century; specimens of several of which, are engraven in the third column of the twenty-seventh plate. The eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth specimens, are, what the French call, *Capetian* writing, because used during the reigns of that race of kings; the first of which was written in the latter end of the twelfth century; the second is dated in 1280, and the third in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The twenty-first and twenty-second numbers, are specimens of writing which prevailed in France under the monarchs of the *Valesian* race, namely, from 1327 to 1589: though another kind of writing took place in France in the fifteenth century, which continued till the great improvements made in the art, towards the latter end of the sixteenth, and in the seventeenth century. Specimens of this last kind of writing are exhibited in the twenty-third and twenty-fourth numbers of this plate.

Explanation of the twenty-seventh Plate.

The first specimen in this plate, is taken from a ms. in the Cottonian library (Caligula A. 7.) written in the Francic characters in the tenth century, and in the *Franco-Theotisc* dialect, which was spoken in the time of Charlemagne.

* Mr. Smith, in his Catalogue of the Cottonian library, calls them Dano-Francic, but this is a distinction without a difference, for the characters used by the Franks, were adopted in Denmark.

1. Thuo anuwas lang after thiu neit allso gi lestid
 uuand sohie mancunnea manuga huila God
 almahti forgeban habda. That hie is himilisk
 barn Herod tiu uerol di is selbes supo sendcan-
 uuolda Tethiu that hie hier alosdi alliud sta
 mna uuerod fon uuitie.

2. The second specimen is taken from a psalter in the library of Trinity college in Cambridge, written in the reign of king Stephen.

Adueniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in Celo et
 in Terra. Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie

3. The third specimen, is taken from St. Augustin on St. John's gospel, preserved in the library of Christ college, Oxford. This ms. appears to have been written in 1167, and formerly belonged to Bildewas Priory, in Shropshire.

Judei ergo inquit quoniam parasceue erat ut non remanent in
 Cruce corpora sabato; erat enim magnus dies ille sabati:—
 Scriptus anno ab incarnatione Domini MCLXVII.

4. The fourth specimen, is taken from a ms. in the Lambeth library, [N° 209] written in the thirteenth century.

Post hec vidi et ecce Ostium apertum in Celo et vox prima quam audiui tanquam
 tube loquentis mecum dicens ascende huc et ostendam tibi que oportet fieri post
 hec. Statim fui in spiritu et ecce sedes posita erat in Celo et supra sedem sedens.

5. The fifth specimen, is taken from the parliament roll of the third year of king Henry VI.

“Henricus quintus Rex Anglie qui nunc est.”

6. The sixth specimen, is of the sixteenth century, and is to be read,

Post veris equinoctium.
 Quere ple nilunium,
 Et sequenti Dominica
 Sacrum celebra pascha.

7. The seventh specimen hath a date.

Incipit collectarium temporale ad usum fratrum Guillermitarum Parisiensium—
Scriptum a fratre Petro Cource—Conventum anno 1587.

By these two specimens, it appears that the hair strokes over the *i*, were preserved till the decline of the sixteenth century, when the points took place.

8. The eighth specimen is taken from a Missal, written in Flanders in the fifteenth century.

Deur qui beatum Nicholaum Pontificem tuum innumeris decōrasti
miraculis tribue nobis quesumus ut ejus meritis et precibus,
a Gehenne ignis.

9. The first specimen in the second column, and the ninth in the twenty-seventh plate, is taken from a fair ms. in my library, written in the reign of king Stephen, or in that of king Henry II.

(*Iborewen.*) OF STRENTHE. Fortitudo that is Godes strengthe . . . is an oþer
hali mihte the is medfull to scilden Godes Temple fram alle unwines.
Of hire sath the profiete “Esto nobis dnē turris fortitudinis.” Hlaverd bie ure
towr of strengthe agean alle unwines. Thes ilche halige mihte hie is towr &
strengthe to alle tho mihtē the thar inne bieth wunrgende & swa hie is alle Christes
gecorene.

10. The tenth specimen, is taken from the Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, in the Harleian library, (N° 201.)

Engelond ys a wel god lond ith wene of eche lond best
Y set in the ende of the World as al in the West
The See goth hym al aboute, he stont as an Yle
Here son heo durre the lasse doute but hit be thorū gyle.

11. The eleventh specimen is taken from a ms. (N° 5017.) in the Harleian library, containing the two books of the Maccabees, and the New Testament of Wickliff's translation.

Here bigynneth the firste C° of Joon.
In the biginyng was the Word and the Word was at God and God was the Word

this was in the biginyng at God alle thinges weren maid by him and withouten him was maad no thing that thing that was maad, in him was liif and the liif was the lizi of Men.

12. Number twelve is taken from Thomas Occleve's Poem de regimine Principis, in the Harleian library, (N^o 4866.)

Althogh his lyfe be queynt the resemblaunce
Of him hay in me so fresch lyflynesse
That to putte othir Men in remembraunce
Of his Persone I have heere his lyknesse
Do make to this ende in sothfastnesse
That thei that have of him left thought and mynde
By this peynture may ageyn him fynde.

13. The thirteenth specimen is taken from a ms. in my library, containing the claim of Henry IV. to the crown of England, in full parliament, after the deposition of his cousin Germain king Richard II.

In the name of the Fadir of the Son and the Holy Gost I Henry of Lancastre chalange this Reme of Ingland and the Crown with all the membres and all the appurtenance as that am descendit to right line of the blod comyng fro the good lord kyng Henry thrid and thorough the rizt that God of his grace ath send me with the help of my king^t and of my Friends to recover it the whych Reme was in poynt to ben ondoo for defaute of gouvernance and undoyng of that good law.

14. The fourteenth specimen is taken from an old English chronicle on vellum, in my library, written in the reign of king Henry VI.

And whene the Emperour had wel restide him and seye the londe in dyvers parties and to knowe the commoditees thenc bi processe of tyme he toke his leewe of the Kyng but or he zede he was made Knyzt of the Garter.

15. The fifteenth specimen, is taken from a ms. *Rituale in usum Sarum*, written about the year 1450, and contains a part of the marriage ceremony at that time.

¶ Kin Kindred.

I N. take the N. to my Weddid Housbond to have and to hold fro this day forthward for better for wors for richer for porer in siknesse and in helthe to be boner and buxum til deth us depart and therto I plight the my treuthe.

16. The sixteenth specimen is taken from the genealogies of the kings of England, in my library, written about the year 1480.

Edwarde the fourth, son and heyr to the worshepful prynce Richard late Duke of Yorke, after the decesse of his fadir was Duke of Yorke, and was crowned Kyng.

17. The seventeenth specimen is from a brass plate, placed in the church of Macclesfield in the county of Chester, in the year 1506, a appears by the date on the plate.

The parlon for sayings of 5 pater nosters, 5 aves and a cred is 26 thousand Yeres and 26 dayes of pardon.

The third column of this plate exhibits specimens of writing in France, from the eleventh, to the sixteenth century inclusive.

18. Number eighteen, is from a fragment of a French ms. in my library.

Quant il orent mangie Lancelot proia le Roy q'il li face apporter ces Armes, car il vodra aler el Royaume de Logres ou il ne fu plus a d'un an biau sire fet li Rois.

19. The nineteenth number is from the statutes made by William bishop of Norwich, for regulating the numery at Flixton, in the county of Suffolk, dated in the year 1280.

En le honour de Deu pere e fiz e seynt esperit Nus Williame par la suffraunce de Deu.

20. The twentieth specimen is from a book of prayers and chants written in France in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Haute Dame gloriose
Ta joie fu merueulouse
Al oure lř tu transis
De ceste vie en viose.

21. The twenty-first number is taken from a ms. in the Harleian library (N° 1319) written by Francis de la Marquē, a French gentleman, who attended King Richard II. during the latter part of his reign. This ms. is written in French verse, and relates what passed in England, relative to that unfortunate monarch from April 25, 1399, to the time of his death.

Ainsi firent leur asamblee
 Qui estoit de mal enpensee
 A Wemonstre hors la Ville
 De Londres ce n'est pas guille
 Premierement tous les Prelas
 Archevesques, Eveques (las)."

22. The twenty-second specimen is taken from an original letter of Francis I. of France, to the bishop of Bayonne, and Mons. de Morett, his ambassadors in England.

Messrs. — Estant seur que ce sera singulier plaisir a mon bon frere et perpetuel
 allye le Roy d'Angleterre, et pareillement a Mons. le Legat,

23. Number twenty-three, is taken from a ms. in the Cottonian library, (Caligula A. 5.) written about the middle of the sixteenth century, and is decorated with several beautiful illuminations.

Aristote toutefois en son primer Livre d'Ethiques dit
 Beati sunt viventes cum felicitas operatio sit.

24. The twenty-fourth specimen is taken from a French Missal, written in the latter end of the sixteenth, or the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Sancte Johanes & Paule—or (pro nobis)
 Scī Cosma & Damiane—or
 Scī Gervasio & Prothasi—or
 Omnes scī Martires - or

" This ms. is ornamented with sixteen curious historical drawings, thirteen of which, are engraven by Mr. Strutt, in his *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, 4to. 1773 (pl. 20 to 33, and p. 16 to 24.

25. Number twenty-five, contains a specimen of Belgic writing, taken from a ms. in my library, written in Flanders, about the middle of the fifteenth century.

Van S. Katèlyn.

Kateline ionghe iuecht Die regncert. inde godlike dune
Daer bouen inde ewighe vruecht Dats.

26, 27. The twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh numbers are taken from mss. brought from Iceland by the President of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks, and deposited by him in the British Museum. These mss. seem to have been written about the fourteenth century. N° 26 is to be read,

Gud himnana, Græðare manà, Geime oss alla; Late mig Scilia, &c. *i. e.* God of Heaven, Saviour of men, defend us all, forgive my sins, (or punishment).

N° 27 is written in pure Islandic, of the fourteenth century, and is to be read,

Sa nadar-riikaste Gud og Drotteim seiger suo (miin hiartguð Elsbu moder Ragneidur Eggerts dottur) fyrer mìn Esaia spamans i LX Capítula. “Eg vil huggar ydur, suo sem tha moderin huggar (sitt barn).” *i. e.* The mercy-rich God and Lord says so (my beloved Elizabeth mother of Ragnoid, Eggert's daughter) by the mouth of Esaias the prophet, in the LXth chapter, “I will embrace you, so as a mother embraceth (her child).”

28. The twenty-eighth number contains a singular specimen of English characters, engraven on stone, in the church of Campsall, in the county of York.

Let fal downe thy ne, & lift up thy hart,
Behold thy maker on yond Cros al to torn
Remember his Wondis that for the did smart.
Gety n without syn, and on a Virgin born.

PAPAL BULLS.

As the instruments which issue from the Roman Chancery, called Papal Bulls, have been received in every country where the Roman Catholic religion is established, it may be proper in this place, to say something concerning them, and of the characters in which they are written. They derive their name of

Bulls, from the seals appendant to them, and not from their contents. Bulls were not confined to the Roman Pontiffs alone, but were also issued under that name, by emperors, princes, bishops, and great men, who till the thirteenth century, sometimes affixed seals of metal, as well as of wax, to edicts, charters, and other instruments, though they were equally called Bulls, whether they were sealed with the one or with the other; but the popes have continued to affix metal seals to their Bulls, to the present time; on all ordinary occasions these seals are of lead, but when they bestowed particular marks of grace and favour on sovereign princes, seals of gold were affixed. The Bull of pope Clement VII. conferring the title of *Defender of the Faith*, on king Henry VIII. hath a seal of gold appendant to it.* In early times, the seals of the popes varied in their forms, but they have been much of the same make from the Pontificate of Urban II. who was elected to the Papal Chair in 1088. On the front of the seals, are the names and faces of St. Paul, and St. Peter, separated by a cross, and on the reverse of each seal, is the name of the Pope; after the two letters *P P*, is the number in Roman numerals, which distinguishes him from his predecessors of the same name. Bulls containing matters of grace and favour, were suspended by strings of red and yellow silk, but if they were mandates for punishment, they were hung by hempen cords.

Papal Bulls are of different kinds, as *small Bulls*, or mandates of a less solemn nature; *Consistorial Bulls*, made in full consistory, which are confined to affairs of religion, or to the Apostolic Chair; *Pancartes*, or confirmations of grants to the church, and *Bulls of Privilege*, which granted particular immunities to cathedrals and abbies. The most ancient Bulls were written in the Roman running hand, which mode of writing shall be mentioned presently; they were written in Lombardic characters as early as the eighth century, which were preserved in Bulls till the middle of the twelfth, though small Roman characters were occasionally used, and a mixture of these two kinds of letters, were continued in Bulls so late as the fifteenth century. The beginning of the Bulls of the Roman Pontiffs, were written in long and indistinct letters, which are difficult

* The famous instrument of the emperor Charles IV. made in 1356, with the consent of the princes of the empire, is called the

Golden Bull, from the gold seal appendant to it.

See N. T. Dipl. vol. v. part iii. iv. v.

to be read. The emperors, and the other princes on the continent of Europe began their charters in similar letters, specimens of which are given in the twenty-eighth plate. The first specimen of this plate is taken from a Bull of pope Innocent II. in favour of Christ-church, near Aldgate.

Innocentius Episcopus servus servorum Dei.

Dilecto filio Normanno, Priori Ecclesiæ Christi infra &c.

in perpetuum. Apostolicæ sedis clementiæ congruit

religiosas personas affectione—Data Viterbi per manum

Almerici sanctæ romanæ eccle—Incarnat. Dñice Anno, M^oC^oX^oXXVII.

The second specimen, in the same plate, is taken from a Bull of pope Gregory IX. dated in the tenth year of his Pontificate, A.D. 1237, granting to the abbot and convent of Quarrer, in the Isle of Wight, the liberty of choosing their own confessor.

Gregorius Episcopus servus servorum Dei. Dilectis

filiis Abbati et Conventui de Quarraria

Cisterciën. Ord. Wintonien Dio .

salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem—Dat.

Interañ vi. Kl. Feb Pontificat. nrī Anno decimo.

The third specimen is taken from a Bull of Benedict XII. dated at Avignon, in the third year of his Pontificate, A.D. 1337.

Benedictus Epu servus servorū Dei. Carissimo in

Xpō filio Edwardo Regi Anglie illustr. salt. et

Ap' licañ benedictionem—Dat. Avinion ii Id.

Martii Pontificatus nostri Anno tertio.

The fourth specimen is taken from a Bull of Martin III. dated in 1428.

Martinus Ep̄s servus servorum Dei. Venerabili Fratri Archiepō

Eboraceñ salt. et—Dat. Rom. apud sanctos Apostolos viii. Kl.

Julii Pontificatus nrī Anno Undecimo.

The fifth specimen is taken from a Bull of pope Gregory XIII. dated at Rome in 1575, appointing Patrick Laccnan titular bishop of Dromore, in Ireland.

Dat. Rome apud Sanctum Petrum Anno Incarnationis Dñice Millesimo Quingentesimo Septuagesimo Quinto. Decimo Kl. Februarij Pon. ficatus nrī Anno

Quarto.

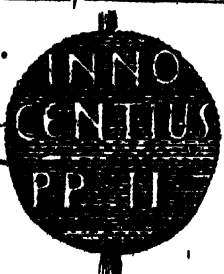
About the year 1450, a more strong and durable hand was used in Italy for Bulls, and other instruments, which issued from the Roman Chancery,

Data viterbi. p^{ri}maru² **ALONSO** 1^o 2^o Romane eccl^{ie}. Incarnat^{is} dⁿⁱ m^o c. x^o. x^o. vij.
sec. III.

Benedictus ep̄s servus servorum dei Cassinus n̄ p̄p̄ filio Edwardi Regis Anglie
Illustrati et ap̄licam ben̄ Dat̄ Unioni y. d. Martij Pontificatus n̄i Anno Tertio.
S. XIV

Martinus eps servus servorum dei, Venerabili fratri Archiepo Coranien-
Sati et
Dat Rmc apud Sanctos apostolos vni, kl Julij Pontificatus nri Anno undecimo
Sec. IV

Dat^o Rome apud S. m. etymptet rmy Anno incarnationis dñice Mill^o esimo
 qm^o gentesimo septuagesimo quinto Decimo kal februa^o Pontus. nri. Anno
 Quarto. S. 117.



different from those used before that period, and similar to those in the fifth specimen, in the twenty-eighth plate. All the specimens in this plate, except the first, are from the originals in my library.

RUNNING-HAND.

This kind of writing was in use among the Romans, so early as the fourth century, if not sooner. The learned editors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique** have given us a number of authentic documents in proof of this fact, but it appears to have been generally current in the eighth century. It experienced the fate of their capitals and small letters, and suffered various changes, according to the taste of the times, and genius of the people, by whom it was adopted.

The Lombardic running-hand may be considered as a branch of the Roman, modelled after that used in the sixth and seventh centuries. There is a striking resemblance between the Lombardic and Merovingian running hands. Lombardic characters are still to be seen in some charters of the thirteenth century, even in Germany.

The affinity between the Roman, Lombardic, and the Merovingian running-hands is so great, that they may be considered as one; all the difference consists in some few alterations, that time produces in every mode of writing in different countries. The shades, by which they are distinguished, were introduced after the middle of the sixth century. The Merovingian continued from the middle of the seventh century, to the reign of Pepin the Short, when it became more delicate, and less intricate.

The Saxon running-hand derived its origin likewise from the Roman. It was already formed in the eighth century, and prevailed in England until the eleventh, when it was superseded by the Norman or French mode of writing, as has been already shewn.

The Visi-Gothic running-hand may have been distinguished from the Roman, so early as the sixth century, but there are no examples prior to the seventh. It continued until the thirteenth.

The Caroline running-hand is no more than a continuation of the Merovingian. It first made its appearance in the eighth century, and was lost among the small Roman letters in the twelfth. It experienced many advantageous, as well as many disadvantageous changes, at different periods.

* Vol. iii. chap. xi. p. 621, et seqq.

The Capetian running-hand bears a great resemblance to the Caroline, under the first kings, of the third race in France, and even during part of the reign of Robert II. In the eleventh century, its long sharp strokes and flourishes, especially in mss. were the only marks of distinction, between it, and the small letters of mss. In the twelfth century, it was very rarely used, and gave way to small letters, almost on every occasion. In the thirteenth century, it was lost in the Gothic small hand.

The running-hand practised in Germany was not so free and expeditious, as the writings of Italy and France, but partook more of the small corrupted Roman letters.

Several specimens of the different kinds of running-hand abovementioned, are given in the twenty-ninth plate. The first specimen of Roman running-hand is taken from a grant made to the church of *Ravenna* in the sixth century; it is written on Papyrus, and is engraven in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique** and is to be read,

✠ In Christi nomine adquisitus optionum e Vico Mediolan huius Chartulæ donationis—portionis.

The ✠ at the beginning, stands for I. C. N (*In Christi Nomine*) and this we consider as one of the first Monograms, which we find in any charter.

MONOGRAMS were used by the Roman Pontiffs and by sovereign princes on the Continent in very early times. They served the purpose of royal signatures, though they were not written by the sovereigns themselves. A monogram, was a character composed of the several letters of the name of the person who made any grant. Many of them are engraven in *Du Cange's Glossary*, and in other works.

Monograms are not found in the charters or other instruments of the kings of England to which their seals were appendant. From the time of Edward the Confessor our monarchs spoke by their seals alone. After the reign of king Richard the Second, royal signatures, since called signs manual, because they were signed by the hand of the king himself, came into use. The signature of Edward the Fourth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, may be called monograms, although those princes sometimes wrote their names at length; but monograms were less used

* Tom. iii. pl. 63, p. 626, et seqq. The original is preserved in a crystal case in the Vatican library. It is said to have been writ-

ten in the sixth year of the Post Consulate of Paulinus the younger, which was in the year 540.

RUNNING HAND.

Roman.

fredigis avaritiam
in amodo huius
uolens propter

fidetate et cum
deris in uau
archiepiscopo

Lombardic.

in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha

Merovingian.

in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha

Caroline.

in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha

Capitular.

in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha

German.

in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha
in modis a la ha

in England, by the sovereigns or by their subjects, than in any other country. See two plates of signatures of the kings of England in the *Antiquarian Repertory*, vol. ii. London, 1779, 4to.

The second specimen, is taken from a charter of the sixth century, engraven from the sixty-fourth plate of the work last mentioned.

Notitia testium id est armatus V.D. schol. & coll . . . that is to say, Vir Devotus scholaris et collectarius. *There are many Sigla in this charter.*

The third number contains a specimen of Lombardic running-hand, which is taken from a charter of Grimoaldus, duke of Benevento, dated in the fifth year of his reign, which was in the year 795.

In Nomine Domini Dei Jesu Christi, nos vir gloriosissimus Grimoaldus Dei providentia . . .

The fourth number contains a specimen of Merovingian running-hand, which is taken from a decree of Childebert III. in the year 703.

C. N. Childebertus Rex Francorum Vir inluster cum nos in Dei nomine Carriaco Villa Grimoaldo majorem Domus nostri una cum nostris . . .

The fifth number is in the Caroline running-hand, and is taken from a charter of Charlemagne to the church of St. Marcellus, at Chalons.

I. C. N. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum—quidem clemencie cunctorum decet accommodare aucte benigna precipue quibus.

By this charter it appears, that good Latin and orthography were at this time banished from charters and legal instruments; *aure benigna* for *darem benignam*.

The sixth number contains a specimen of the Capetian running-hand, which is nothing more than the Caroline degenerated; and is taken from a fragment of a charter of the year 988, in favour of the abbey of St. Colomb, at Sens.

In eisdem degentium orem (aurem) nostre celsitudinis, impendimus regium proclaudio exercemus munus . . .

This kind of French writing was not used in charters after the reign of Robert, when they substituted small letters, which differed from those

^b Robert II. king of France, who died in 1033.

used in mss. by the tops being flourished, and the tails lengthened; these last were also lost in the modern Gothic in the thirteenth century.

The seventh number contains a specimen of German writing, which partakes so little of the freedom of running-hand, that it scarcely deserves the name; it is taken from the end of a charter of the emperor Conrad the first, dated in the year 914, to the abby of St. Emmeran, at Ratisbon.

Et ut hoc complacitationis preceptum firmum stabileque permaneat manu nostra
subtus illud firmavimus Anulique nostri

The Visigothic running-hand prevailed longer in Spain, than in the rest of Europe, for it was not till the latter end of the eleventh century, that Alphonsus VI. introduced the French mode of writing into the kingdoms of Castile and Leon.

That the Roman running-hand was the source, from whence all national variations of that kind of writing flowed, is obvious from the mixture of Roman, Lombardic, Visigothic, Merovingian and Saxon letters, which appear in the most ancient documents; nay the resemblance is sometimes so strong between them, that it is not easy to form a distinction.

The Roman running-hand experienced great alterations from one age to another, especially that kind, which was used in the courts of justice; those alterations were more conspicuous after the sixth century; then, it seemed to degenerate into the Lombardic and Merovingian. The latter, if the characters are strongly marked, must be at least of the eighth century: when it is closely linked and complicated, it goes as far back as the seventh. From the end of the eighth to the beginning of the twelfth it approaches nearer to the small Roman letters.

There are two kinds of Lombardic running-hand, ancient and modern; the former is distinguished by long heads and tails, the latter is thicker. From the tenth century it assumed a form, that led directly to the modern Gothic.

The mss. and Charters of the ninth and tenth centuries exhibit many traces of Roman running-hand; such appearances after the eleventh would make them suspicious, but manuscripts in running-hand of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, are not easily distinguished.

CHAP. VI. OF CHARACTERS AND SIGNS.

OF THE CHINESE CHARACTERS—OF SIGLA OR LITERARY SIGNS—
~~OF NATURE~~ USED BY SHORT-HAND WRITERS—OF THE VARIOUS
MODES OF SECRET WRITING.

It has already been shewn, that all Symbols whatever are significant only by compact or agreement, but it is to be observed, that these symbols or marks are different in their operations. The Chinese Characters, which are by length of time become *symbolic*, were originally *imitative*;* they still partake so much of their original hieroglyphic nature that they do not combine into words, like *letters* or marks for *sounds*, but we find one mark for a *man*, another for a *horse*, a third for a *dog*, and, in short, a separate and distinct mark for each thing which hath a corporeal form. They are under a necessity of making separate marks for each district and town. It is obvious that these marks must be exceedingly numerous; but how greatly must they be multiplied by the absolute necessity of describing the properties, and qualities of things!

The Chinese also use a great number of marks intirely of a symbolic nature, to impress on the eye, the conceptions of the mind, which have no corporeal forms; though they do not combine these last marks into words, like marks for sounds or letters, but a separate mark is made to represent or stand *for each* idea; and they use them in the same manner as they do their abridged picture-characters; which, as has been observed, were originally imitative or hieroglyphic.

The Chinese characters, according to some of their writers, amount to twenty-five thousand; to thirty or forty thousand according to others; but the later writers say, they amount to eighty thousand, although he

* Many of the original imitative characters of the Chinese, are to be found in Du Halde's History of China; and several plates of them are engraven in the 59th vol. of the Philosophical Transactions.

is reckoned a very learned man, who is master of fifteen or twenty thousand. The Chinese doctors, in order to facilitate the reading of their language, have compiled lexicons and vocabularies, in which their variety of characters is ranked in several classes. They have also keys to their characters, which are divided into different classes: these keys are two hundred and fourteen in number, and contain the general outlines of the characters used in each class of writing; thus, for instance, *everything* that relates to *heaven, earth, mountain, man, horse, &c.* is to be looked for under the character of heaven, earth, mountain, man, horse, &c.*

The most ancient characters of the Chinese are called *Kou Ouen*, and are nearly hieroglyphic.† They have no distinct knowledge of the invention of writing; one of their books mentions, that *Fou hi*, introduced eight Koua or elementary characters for affairs of state, these put an end to the use of knots upon cords, which had till that time been used.

A book called *Tsee hio loang tsin*, divides the Chinese characters into six sorts, *Liesu—y*. The first is called *Siang hing*, which are true pictures of sensible things.

The second is called *Tchi che*, or the indication of the thing, which is made by an addition to the symbol.

The third is called *Hoei-y*, i. e. *junction of ideas*, or *association*, and consists in joining to express a thing, which neither the one or the other signifies separately. For example, they express misfortune by a character which signifies *house*, and by another which denotes *fire*, because the greatest misfortune, which can befall a man, is to have his house on fire.

The fourth is called *Kiai-in*, which is, *explication*, or expression of the sound.

The fifth is called *Kiai-sie*, *idea*, or *metaphor*, which hath opened an immense field to the manner of making use of their marks or characters: by virtue of the *Kiai-sie*, one character is sometimes taken for another; chosen to express a proper name; turned aside to a sense allegorical, metaphorical, or ironical; and pushed even to an antiphrasis, in giving it a sense opposite to that wherein it is employed elsewhere.

* One of these vocabularies is in my library. The imitative character is placed first, and the corresponding or arbitrary mark opposite to it, so that they explain each other.

† See these characters in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. lix. plate 24, et seqq. ib. p. 494, et seqq.

The sixth is called *Tchouen-Tchou*, i. e. development, explication, which consists only in extending the primitive sense of a character or in making detailed applications of it. Thus the same character is sometimes verb or adverb, sometimes adjective or substantive: these six *Liesu-y* above described, are the sources from whence flow all the characters of the Chinese.

There are five different kinds of writing practised by the Chinese. The first and most ancient is called *Kou-ouen*, which is of the hieroglyphic kind, but hath long been obsolete; the second *Tchoang-tsee* (also read *Tchouen-tsee*) succeeded the *Kou-ouen*, and lasted even to the end of the dynasty of the *Tcheou*. It was this which was in use from the time of Confucius; and of which the abbreviations and various readings have been most fatal. The third *Li-tsee* began under the reign of *Chi-hoang-ti*, the founder of the dynasty of the *Tsin*, and the great enemy of letters and of learned men. The fourth, *Hing-chou*, is destined for impression, as with us the Roman and Italic. The fifth sort, *Tsao-tsee*, was invented under the *Han*.

This last is a kind of writing with the stroke of a pencil with a very light and well experienced hand: but it disfigures the characters beyond expression. It is only used for the prescriptions of Physicians, prefaces to books, inscriptions of fancy, &c.

We agree with Dr. Warburton, that the Chinese are no Philosophers, or they would have endeavoured to have improved the two most useful arts in life, *speaking* and *writing*: what some of the Jesuits have said, concerning the wonderful learning of the Chinese may justly be doubted; for though they have some mechanic arts, and although the populousness and vast extent of their country have obliged them to establish an exact police, and to study the rules of good government, they are far from being men of science; they have till of late years been ignorant of the principles of perspective, as their paintings evince.

It should seem, that it is a part of the civil and religious policy of the Chinese still to adhere to their ancient usage of a multitude of marks for

¹ Du Halde, who was himself a Jesuit, differs in his account of the Chinese from several of his brethren, for he tells us that they knew very little of the problems of geometry, and

Renaudot says, that when the Jesuits explained to them the demonstrations of Euclid, they admired them as things altogether new to them.

things; for they must have seen the books dispersed in their country by the missionaries for propagating the Gospel, and other works, which are composed in elementary characters.

Thus it has been sufficiently shewn, that marks for words like the Chinese must be very numerous; and we have in a former chapter demonstrated, that marks for sounds are very few; but these last are capable of such an infinity of combinations, that they answer every purpose of a multitude of marks or characters.*

The Chinese books begin from the right hand; their letters are placed in perpendicular columns, of which there are generally ten in a page; they are read downwards, beginning from the right hand side of the paper. Sometimes a title is placed horizontally, and this is likewise read from the right hand.

OF SIGLA, OR LITERARY SIGNS.

A COMPETENT knowledge of the *literary signs*, or verbal contractions used by the ancients, is of the utmost importance to those who wish to be familiarly acquainted with ancient history. These Sigla or Signs, frequently appear on marbles, coins, and medals, and occur in those inestimable volumes of antiquity, which have transmitted to us the most important truths relative to the religion, manners, customs, arts, and sciences, of ancient nations. These are keys, as it were, to unlock the most precious volumes of antiquity; they introduce us to a more speedy acquaintance with all the various works of ancient artists and writers

* The Chinese language is very singular, nor is any like it to be found on the globe; it contains but about three hundred and thirty words: from hence the Europeans have concluded that it is barren, monotone, and hard to understand, but they ought to know that the four accents called *ping* uni (even) *chung* élevé (raised) *kiu* diminué (lessened) *jou* ren-trant, (returning) multiply almost every word into four, by an inflexion of voice, which it is as difficult to make an European understand, as it is for a Chinese to comprehend the six pronunciations of the French E; their accents

do yet more, they give harmony and pointed cadence to the most ordinary phrases. It appears surprising that the Chinese, who have nothing but monosyllables in their language, should be able to express every different idea and sensation which they can conceive; but they so diversify these monosyllables by the different tones which they give them, that the same character differently accented signifies sometimes ten or more different things. It is in this way that they in some degree supply the poverty of their articulation (which is very great), and their want of composition.

The instruction to be derived from this branch of polite learning, is of itself a sufficient spur to stimulate attention and industry; but its utility, which is no less obvious, is an additional incentive to augment our application and desires, when we consider, that there are no ancient documents, either on metals, marbles, precious stones, bark, parchment, paper, or other materials, which do not abound with these literary contractions, and that it will be very difficult to understand them without this necessary knowledge.

COINS AND MEDALS.

Many writers have employed their pens in elucidating this subject; among others, Octavius de Strada in *Aurea Numismata*, &c. where we read C. CÆSAR. DIVI. F. IMP. COS. III. VIR R. P. C. that is, *Caius Cæsar Divi filius imperator consul Triumvir reipublicæ constituendæ*. A number of similar examples may be found in the same author, and in *Aeneas Vicus Parmensis de Augustarum imaginibus*.

On medals and coins *A* frequently occurs for *Aulus*, *A. F.* for *Auli filius*, *A. L.* for *Auli libertus*. *A* or *An* for *Annis*, *Annos*, or *Annum*, &c. To avoid prolixity, the reader is referred to the alphabetical table of John Nicolaus from p. 123 to 146 inclusive, and *Gobu de Numismat. Antiqu. Vaillant. Prideaux on Osconian Marbles. Occonis Numismata. Sertorius Ursatus. Selden's Titles of Honour, &c.*

The practice of impressing literary signs on coins has been constantly preserved to the present times. The medals or coins of the Grecian princes, and of the Roman emperors, had their effigies and titles on one side, and some hieroglyphical, emblematic, or historical representation on the other. Their names were generally expressed by single letters, to which their offices or principal dignities were annexed; for example, on those of Julius Cæsar, we frequently read this inscription, C. IMP. QUART. AUGUR PONT. MAX. COS. QUART. DICT. QUART. that is, *Cæsar Imperator quantum Augur Pontifex Maximus Consul quantum Dictator quantum*. The first word gives the name, then follow the dignities and offices he possessed; that is, he was four times Augur, Supreme Pontiff, Consul, and Dictator.

In like manner we find impressed on the coins of Augustus, the following literary signs. AUG. C. DIVI. F. IMP. AUGUR PONT III VIR. R. P. C. for *Augustus Cæsaris Divi Julii filius, Imperator, Augur, Pontifex, Triumvir reipublicæ constituendæ*; and in short on most of the ancient coins and medals we find names, titles, and epithets.

It is observable, that Julius Cæsar was the first who had his image with the title of perpetual dictator impressed on the Roman coin; this honour was conferred on him by a senatorial decree after the battle of Pharsalia. His example was followed by Augustus and other emperors. Sometimes two heads were stamped upon their coins, denoting they had a partner in their dignity; as appears from the coin of Constant. II. with his own head, and that of his son Constantine; and from that of another Constantine, bearing his own with the image of his mother. Not only images, but likewise surnames, titles, or epithets, such as *pious*, *felix*, &c. were impressed on coins. Some of the Christian emperors from motives of zeal inscribed those honours to Christ. John Zimisces was the first who introduced the custom, and impressed upon the coin, I.H.S. X.P.S.

The different offices had their particular inscriptions on Roman coins or medals. Such as III *vir*i or triumvirs. In the Cornelian family were to be seen II *vir*s and III *vir*s of the colonies; but on the imperial coins none but the greater dignities appeared, such as *Augur* and *Chief Pontiff*, denoting that the emperors by virtue of those offices had the supreme authority in all matters of religion. This dignity was enjoyed by the emperors from the time of Augustus to the days of Gratian; who laid it aside in the latter part of his reign. The remarkable actions of the emperors were sometimes either simply or figuratively impressed on coins and medals; as that of Trajan crowning the king of the Parthians, with these words, *Rex Parthis dedit*. The principal virtues of the emperors were sometimes celebrated on coins, as, *Moderationi*, *Clementiæ*, *Justitiæ*, &c. &c. It would require a volume to enumerate all the particulars that relate to this subject: an ample account may be found in Selden *de titulis hæror*. The inscriptions on the coins of the different states of Europe nearly resemble those of the Romans, from whom the custom was borrowed.

EPITAPHS AND OTHER SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS.

As to epitaphs or sepulchral inscriptions, it was common to begin them with these literary signs, "D.M.S. signifying *Dius Manibus Sacrum*, and, as still is customary with us on such occasions, the glorious actions, praises, origin, age, and rank of the deceased, with the time of his death were set forth.

Sepulchral inscriptions were in use with the people of all nations, and abounded with literary signs or abbreviations; various examples of which

may be seen in John Nicholaus's *Treatise de Siglis Veterum*, (p. 216, 217,) and in his *Alphabetical Table of Sepulchral literary contractions*, (ibid. p. 220.)

After the establishment of Christianity those, who professed that doctrine, though they continued the practice of literary signs, or verbal contractions, deviated however from the Pagan form, and instead of the D.M.S. or *Dīs Manibus Sacrum*, or I.O.M.S. *Jovi Optimo Maximo Sacrum*, made use of D.O.M.S. that is, *Deo Optimo Maximo Sacrum*. The general conclusion of almost all Christian monumental inscriptions is, *Requiescat in pace*. They sometimes began with, *Hic requiescit in pace*. A table of various literary signs found on Christian sepulchres may be seen in John Nicholaus's *de Siglis Veterum*, (p. 248, & seq.)

OF LITERARY SIGNS ON SEPULCHRAL URNS.

It is a fact too well known to require any particular elucidation, that it was customary with the ancients to burn the bodies of the dead, and to deposit the remains in urns or vessels, as appears from the funeral obsequies of Patroclus and Achilles in Homer; and numberless other instances are to be found scattered in various Greek and Roman authors. Of those vessels there were two kinds, the one called *Ossuaria*, which contained the larger bones, and the other *Cineraria*, in which they deposited the lesser, with the ashes.

Without dwelling upon a matter, that does not immediately concern this part of our subject, which is principally confined to the literary inscriptions on urns, we shall proceed in our remarks on them. Those who wish for particular information on the subject, will find it by consulting Sir Thomas Brown's *de Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial*, and the *Monumenta Illustrium*, published at Francfort, by S. Feirabendt, 1585.

Urn were marked with literary signs and images, whence expert antiquaries are oftentimes enabled to discover the artist by whom they were formed, and their antiquity, as we are told by Pliny in his preface to his *Natural History*; and Martial says, lib. 9. Epig. xlv. that statuarys, and other artists, frequently inscribed their names on their works. Hence we learn that inscriptions were usual on urns. V.S.L.M. is sometimes found upon sepulchral vessels, those literary signs are put for, *Votum solvit lubens merito*.

Those, who dedicated urns to their relations and friends, marked them

frequently with some of the following literary signs, Mar. Coll. D. *Marito ollam dedit*. O.E. *Ollam emit*. O.O. *Olla Ossuaria*. O.D.A.V. *Olla data a viro*.

The Lachrymatories of the ancients bore also similar characters, and were frequently deposited with the sepulchral urns.

OF ALTARS. Altars erected to the Supreme Being are of the highest antiquity, but by the ambition and corruption of mankind were afterwards prostituted to flatter both the living and the dead. Inscriptions, or literary signs, frequently appeared on those altars; as Ar. Don. D. that is, *Aram dono dedit*, and such like. Those altars were often raised over, or placed near sepulchres, as may be seen in the ninety-sixth letter of Seneca, where he mentions the altar erected to Scipio Africanus. To avoid prolixity the reader is referred for a more ample detail on this subject to John Nicholaus *de Siglis Veterum*, from p. 261 to 264; Gruter's Inscriptions; and Horsley's *Britannia Romana*.

OF LITERARY SIGNS INSCRIBED ON STATUES. Public Statues were erected to kings, emperors, and others, both before and after their death, on which the names of the dedicators were frequently inscribed in literary signs. As in this inscription, Civ. Interamnanæ Civ. Utriusque Sex. Aer. Coll. Post Ob. H. P. D. that is, *Cives Interamnanæ civitatis utriusque sexus ære collato post obitum hujus patronæ dedicarunt*. From the following literary signs, S. P. P. P. S. C. that is, *sua propria pecunia poni sibi curavit*, we may know that the statue was at the expence of the person to whom it was erected.

Pliny, in his thirty-fourth book tells us, that in the infancy of Rome the kings erected statues to themselves; but, after they were expelled, the Senate and People only had the power of conferring such honours. This privilege continued in the possession of the Senate, until the time of the emperors. We frequently read in the inscriptions on public statues those literary signs, S. P. Q. R. D. that is, *Senatus Populusque Romanus decrevit*. Relations or friends of deceased persons sometimes obtained leave to erect statues to their memory. There were no statues, either public or private, which had inscriptions, but what consisted at least in part of literary signs. This is a fact so well known, that it is unnecessary to expatiate further on it.

EPISTOLARY SIGNS, OR VERBAL CONTRACTIONS.

The Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans used forms of saluting or complimentary expressions at the beginning of their letters,

and then proceeded to the subject of the letters themselves.

The Latin method was to place the name of the writer first, afterwards that of the person, to whom the letter was addressed. The names were either put simply without any epithet in literary signs, as, C. ATT. S. that is, *Cicero Attico Salutem*; or the dignity or rank of the person was added; as, C.S.D. Planc. Imp. Cos. Des. that is, *Cicero Salutem dicit Planco Imperatori Consuli designato*. The epistolary writings of the Romans abound with examples of this kind. The epistles of Cicero in particular are full of them; he often added words expressive of tenderness and affection to his wife, and other relations, that correspond with our vernacular terms, dear, affectionate, &c.

The first part of the body of the letter generally consisted of literary signs, as, S.V.G.E.V. that is, *Si vales gaudeo, ego valeo*. S.T.E.T.L. N.V.E.E. Sua. & V. that is, *Si tu et Tullia Lux Nostra Valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus*. Roman epistles generally concluded with the word *Vale* alone, or joined with some other expressions,—*Bene Vale*, *Mi Frater vale*, and the like. Those words were either written at full length, or in their initials only.

The literary signs used by the Hebrews in their epistolary writings are expressive of peace, health, honour, and other friendly wishes to those to whom their letters were addressed; in the conclusion they prayed for those friends, and sometimes used the most abject terms of humiliation, as, *Sic est precatio minimi discipulorum vermiculi Jacobi filii, R. Isaac*. Their manner of dating their letters was nearly in the same order as is practised with us. These signs are more fully explained by Buxtorff, in *Instit. Epistolari Hebraica*, 1629.

In juridical matters, the initials of words were frequently used by the ancients for the words themselves. Thus in criminal causes of importance the Roman judges had three tablets given them, on each of which was marked either the letter A, signifying acquittal or absolution; the letter C, expressing *condemnation* or guilt; or the letters N. L. implying *Non liquet*, that is, the matter is not clear. According as which kind of those tablets was found most numerous in the urn, in which they were

dropped by the judges, the criminal was either acquitted, condemned, or brought to a new trial.

The practice of substituting letters for words in law-books was of very pernicious tendency; it occasioned such frequent chicanery and evasion, that the emperor Justinian and others prohibited it under severe penalties.

It would be an endless task to enumerate all the various contractions used by the ancients, such as A for *Augustalis*, *acta*, *auctoritas*, *aut apud*, &c. B.F.D. for *beneficium dedit*, B.F. for *Bona fide*, &c.

We find Sigla in the most ancient mss. some specimens of such as were used in the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries, are given at the bottom of the eleventh plate, (see p. 84). Some of these Sigla were made by the Antiquarius who wrote the book, and others afterwards for the illustration of the text. The Sigla in the plate, we are speaking of, may be explained thus:

- Nº 1. H.S. i. e. Hic suppleas, or hæc supplenda.
2. H.D. i. e. Hic deficit, or hæc deficiunt.
3. Paragraphus. a note of division.
4. Diple, to mark out a quotation from the Old Testament.
5. Crisimon, being composed of X and P, which stands for Christ.
6. Hederacei folii Figura, an ivy leaf, the ancient mark of division.
7. Ancora superior. To denote a very remarkable passage.
8. Denotes, the beginning of a lesson.
9. Signifies good.
10. Stands for something very kind, or benevolent.
11. Points out a fine or admirable passage.
12. L.D. *lepide dictum*. Finely said.^b

The Military Sigla amongst the Romans are treated of by Vegetius and Frontinus.

We quit this part of our subject with regret, but it would exceed the limits of our plan to enter more fully into it; our readers are therefore referred to John Nicholas, above mentioned, who hath written professedly upon the Sigla of the Ancients.^c

^b Concerning these kind of notes see Isidor. Hist. Originib. et Etymolog. lib. i. cap. 23, de notis vulgaribus.

^c J. Nicolai Tractatus de siglis veterum, Lugd. Bat. 1703, 4to.

OF NOTÆ, OR MARKS USED BY SHORT-HAND WRITERS.

THE origin of Notes for expeditious Writing is of very high antiquity: they were known to the Greeks; and, according to Laertius,^k Xenophon the philosopher was the first of that nation who made use of them. Plutarch fully explained the nature of these notes, by defining them as *signs or minute and short figures having the force of many letters.*^l Some passages in the letters of Cicero to Atticus furnish additional arguments to demonstrate, that the Romans derived the idea of Short-hand writing from the Greeks, or that the art at least was first known to the latter.

S. Isidore, the Spaniard, however, and after him Petrus Diaconus,^m attributes the invention of the first eleven hundred to the learned Ennius. He says, that Tiro afterwards not only invented a greater number, but was likewise the first who regulated the manner of ranging short-hand-writing, and the order to be observed in taking down public harangues. Persannius may be deemed a third inventor of notes, as he was the author of such, as expressed prepositions. Others were added by Philargirus, and Aquila the freedman of Mæcenæ; and Seneca augmented the number to five thousand.

The most general opinion is, that Tully first made use of notes or short-hand writing in Rome, when Cato made an oration in order to oppose the measures of Julius Cæsar relative to the conspiracy of Catiline. Cicero, who was at that time Consul, placed *Notarii*, or expert short-hand writers, in different parts of the senate-house to take down the speech; and this was the first public occasion, which we find recorded, of employing short-hand writers amongst the Romans. It is unnecessary to observe, that hence proceeded the name of *notary* still in use.

There were three kinds of notes for short-hand writing used by the ancients, either for dispatch or secrecy. The first and most ancient was that of hieroglyphics, which are rather images of representations of

^k Vita Xenoph. l. xi. s. 48.

^l Plutarch, tom. iv. p. 238, edit. Lond.

^m Lib. de Not. Lit. Rom.

things than of words. The Chinese characters are of this kind, and may with greater propriety be called *Notæ* than *Litteræ*, as appears from what hath been already advanced.

The second were called *Singularia*, from their expressing words by single letters; of which we have already spoken. Sertorius Ursatus has compiled a very copious collection of such abbreviations, of which work there are several editions. It is natural to suppose that this kind of notes more generally prevailed with the ancients than any other, on account of their great simplicity and expedition. In the early times, before improvements were made in short-hand-writing, it was usual to take down speeches in the senate by writing the initials of all the words; for this we have the testimony of Valerius Probus: and the same is also confirmed by those verses of Manilius, lib. 4.

Hic et scriptor erit velox, cui litera verbum est,
Quique notis linguam superet cursumque loquentis
Excipiens longas nova per compendia voces.

The third kind of notes, called *Notæ Tironianæ*, were so called from Tiro, the freed man of Cicero, who was excellently skilled in this art; and it is to him that we are indebted for the preservation of Cicero's letters, of which a great part still remain, and of them one intire book written to Tiro himself. This excellent person was trained up in Cicero's family among the rest of his young slaves, and made great progress in every kind of useful and polite learning: being a youth of singular parts and industry he soon became an eminent scholar, and was extremely serviceable to his master in all his affairs both civil and domestic. Tully speaks very respectfully of him in his letters to Atticus; and in his letters to Tiro himself. It is very apparent that notes, as they are found in ancient writings,

" This letter shews not only how Tiro was beloved by his master, but how necessary he was to him, and therefore Dr. Middleton's elegant translation is subjoined.

M. T. CICERO, to TIRO.

" (Ep. Fam. 16. p. 1.)

" I thought that I should have been able to bear the want of you more easily; but in

" truth I cannot bear it: and though it is of great importance to my expected honour to be at Rome as soon as possible, yet I seem to have committed a sin, when I left you. But since you were utterly against proceeding in the voyage till your health was confirmed, I approved your resolution; nor do I now think otherwise if you continue in

were not invented either at one time or by one person; this may be seen from various notes being made to express the same letter. Hence we may presume, that notes were first used in an arbitrary manner, and that it was some time before rules were laid down, or any formal system was adopted for this kind of writing.

From books it appears, that *notes* were very frequent among the Romans, and that they continued in use to the tenth and eleventh centuries. The emperors used them as well as their subjects; they were taught in the public schools; and that they were used in examining criminals and persons accused, as well as in the sentences of judges hath been already shewn, and additional instances may be gathered from the acts of the Christian Martyrs.

We have indeed but few books remaining that are written in shorthand, but this is not surprising, when such was the unhappy situation of the early ages, that either superstition condemned them to the flames as the works of impious magicians or necromancers, or they were left to be devoured by vermin through ignorance and stupidity; which was so very great, that some people, as Trithemius affirms, looked upon notes in those days as the elements of the Armenian language. It is probable however, that there are writings of this sort still extant, which might contribute to enrich the republic of letters.

"the same mind. But after you have begun to take meat again, if you think that you shall be able to overtake me, that is left to your consideration. I have sent Mario to you with instructions, either to come with you to me as soon as you can, or if you should stay longer, to return instantly without you. Assure yourself however of this, that, as far as it can be convenient to your health, I wish nothing more than to have you with me; but if it be necessary for the perfecting your recovery, to stay a while longer at *Patrae*, that I wish nothing more than to have you well. If you sail immediately, you will overtake me at *Leucas*: but if you stay to establish your health,

"take care to have good company, good weather, and a good vessel. Observe this one thing, my Tiro, if you love me, that neither *Mario's* coming nor this letter hurry you. By doing what is most conducive to your health, you will do what is most agreeable to me: weigh all these things by your own discretion. I want you; yet, so as to love you; my love makes me wish to see you well; my want of you, to see you as soon as possible: the first is the better; take care therefore, above all things, to get well again: of all your innumerable services to me, that will be the most acceptable—The third of November." Middleton's *Life of Cicero*, vol. ii. p. 56.

There are several mss. and instruments written in these kind of Notæ, in the Royal library at Paris. In the year 1747, the learned and ingenious Mons. Carpentier, engraved and published at Paris a capitulary, and fifty-four charters of Lewis the Pious, emperor and king of France, written in these Notæ Tironianæ. To this work the learned editor hath prefixed an *Alphabetum Tironianum*, together with a great number and variety of notes or marks for the different parts of speech, and rules for acquiring the art of writing in these kind of notes. Valerius Probus in his book, *De literis antiquis*, explains many of the characters used by the short-hand writers; and there is a dictionary of them set forth by Janus Gruterus.

In the thirtieth plate I have given a specimen of a ms. in my library, written in very singular Notæ or Characters; which seem to have been used partly for expedition, like those now under consideration, and partly for secrecy, like writing in Cypher; because it should seem as if the numeral characters which are placed from right to left, were to be employed when necessary among the Notæ.

There have been many treatises on short-hand writing, which is now so common, that any mechanic may both invent and write it.^p

^o This Lewis succeeded Charlemagne, in the kingdom of France, in the year 840, and died in the year 877.

^p In the year 1588, Dr. Tho. Bright, a physician of Cambridge, published his *Characteria*, or Art of short, swift, and secret writing. In 1590, Peter Bales published a Treatise on Short-hand writing in his book called, *The Writing Schoolmaster*. In 1618, John Willis published his *Stenography*; which was followed by Willoughby's *Art of Short Writing* in 1621. In 1633, Henry Dix published a

work on *Brachygraphy*. In 1641, bishop Wilkins published a work called *Mercury*, &c. *Farthing*, *Ratcliffe*, *Metcalf*, *Shelton*, and *Jeremiah Rich* also wrote upon this Art, which last work had great success, for his *pen's dexterity* had the approbation of both Universities. Many other authors have also written upon this subject, as Addy, Coles, Bridges, Everard, Heath, Mason, Lane, Weston, Steele, Nicholas, Gurney, Annet, &c. but one of the most approved works on Short-hand writing is that published by Mr. Macaulay.

OF STEGANOGRAPHY, OR SECRET WRITING.

THE writing used by the Ancients not for expedition but for secrecy was styled *enigmatical*; one species of it consisted in transposing the letters of the alphabet. Julius Cæsar often made use of it in writing to his friends. Ovid in all probability alludes to this mode of writing in his 4th Epistle, where he says,

His arcana notis terra pelagoque feruntur.

This species of secret writing is of very great antiquity; Polybius, who hath given us an exact relation of the knowledge of antiquity in this art, informs us, that Æneas Tactitus, upwards of two thousand years ago, had invented twenty different manners of writing, which were not to be understood, except by the parties admitted into the secret. Julius Africanus and Philo-Mechanicus, two ancient Grecians, have likewise treated of this subject; Gruterus has also given a volume on this head.

De la Guilletiere, in his *Lacedæmon*, says, that the ancient *Spartans* were the inventors of writing in cipher. The *Scytalæ* was the first sketch of this art: these *Scytalæ* were two rollers of wood of equal length and thickness, one of them kept by the *Ephori*, the other by their ambassador, or military commander. When any secret orders were to be communicated, a slip of parchment was rolled very exactly about the *Scytala* reserved by the writer, upon which the dispatch was written, which was legible whilst the parchment continued upon the roller, but when it was taken off, the writing was without connection, yet it was easy to be read by the person for whom it was intended, upon rolling it round his *Scytala*. Trithemius improved this art, on which he composed several works. Boville, an ignorant person, and Possevin, wrote books to prove, that the works of Trithemius were full of diabolical mysteries. Soon after which Frederick II. Elector Palatine ordered Trithemius's original work, which was in his library, to be burnt.

Secret characters were used in the ninth century. Specimens of the secret alphabet used by Charlemagne, and also of one from a MS. in the

Bodleian library, written in England in the time of King Alfred, and perhaps used by him, are given in plate twenty-six.*

Several other authors have written upon this subject, as Theodorus Bibliander, Baptista Porta, Isaac Casaubon, Joh. Walipius, G. Vossius, D. Caramuel, Gaspar Schot a German Jesuit, Wolfgang, Ernest Eidel; and one of the dukes of Lunenburgh published a book on secret writing in 1624. Herman Ilago, the Jesuit, our great lord Bacon, and bishop Wilkins, have also treated of this art.† Jacques Gesory hath published the principles of deciphering in the French language. Many examples of Steganography are to be found in the *Mathematical Recreations* of Ozanam.

Thuanus informs us,‡ that Vieta, an eminent French Mathematician, was employed by Francis I. in deciphering the intercepted letters of the Spaniards which were written in *marks*, consisting of upwards of five hundred characters, and that he was engaged in this service for upwards of two years, before the Spaniards discovered the matter.

Several specimens of ciphers used by the English are given in the thirtieth plate. N° 1, is taken from a ms. on vellum in my library, written in the reign of Henry VI. N° 2, is the cipher used by Cardinal Wolsey at the court of Vienna in 1524, and is to be read,

It is high time on his Ma^{ty} and my behalfe, with his Grace's condigne thanks, and my most humble recommendations, yee playnly shew and declare unto the Emperor, what hindrance hath ensued, and dayly doth, unto the common affayres by reason things, &c.

N° 3, is Sir Thomas Chaloner's cipher from Madrid in 1564. N° 4, is Sir Thomas Smith's cipher from Paris in 1563. N° 5, is that of Sir Edw. Stafford from the same place in 1586. Vieta was certainly the most expert person in this art before our Doctor Wallis, who was called the *Father* of deciphering; many circumstances concerning his skill in this art are related in his life, in the *Biographia Britannica*. Mr. Willes, the present decipherer, is possessed of Dr. Wallis's keys and ciphers."

The mode of secret writing which has been adopted, and which is most

* Anglo Saxon Gram., p. 168. Franco Teutonic Gram., p. 3.

† De prima scribendi origine. Antwerp, 1617, 8vo.

‡ Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger. Lond. 1641.

§ The late lord Mendip assured me, that the

late earl Granville, when Secretary of State, told him, that when he came into office he had his doubts respecting the certainty of deciphering.—That he wrote down two or three sentences in the Swedish language, and afterwards put them into such arbitrary marks or characters, as his mind suggested to him,—That he sent the

Tab. XIII. p. 74

Handwritten musical notation on a single page, featuring multiple staves with various symbols, including letters, numbers, and decorative flourishes. The text is written in a cursive script, likely a form of shorthand or a specific dialect. The notation includes various symbols such as letters (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, Y, Z), numbers (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10), and decorative elements like stars, crosses, and circles. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines starting with a large, ornate initial. The overall appearance is that of a manuscript page, possibly a page from a book or a page of a letter.

generally practised, by the princes and States of Europe, is that of writing in figures, or in numeral characters.

OGHAMS.

We must not omit to mention a particular kind of Steganography, or Writing in Cipher, practised by the Irish, called Ogham,* of which there were three kinds; the first was composed of certain *lines* and *marks*, which derive their power from their situation and position, as they stand in relation to one *principal line*, over or under which they are placed, or through which they are drawn; the principal line is horizontal, and serves for a rule or guide, whose upper part is called the left, and the under side the right; above, under, and through which line, the characters or marks are drawn, which stand in the place of vowels, consonants, diphthongs, and triphthongs. Some authors have doubted the existence of this species of writing in cipher called Ogham among the Irish, but these doubts are ill founded, as will presently appear.

Specimens of different kinds of Ogham writing, as practised in Ireland, are given in the thirty-first plate. One of these specimens is taken from Sir J. Ware's *Antiquities of Ireland*, (vol. ii. p. 20). This Ogham, or Cipher, is very simple, and is easy to be deciphered. The horizontal line is the principal, and the perpendicular and diagonal lines, above, below, and through the horizontal line, stand for twenty letters, which are in four divisions of five letters each; the first fifteen are for the consonants, the last five for the vowels: for the diphthongs, and for the letter Z, are arbitrary marks. In the Ogham given by Colonel Vallancey, the diagonal lines are for the vowels; this was a change in the cipher, which is often necessary. Diphthongs are not found in ancient mss. the vowels are written separately, as A E not Æ, &c. therefore an Ogham or Cipher, with marks for diphthongs, is not ancient.

A manuscript in the Harleian library (N^o 432), from which we have

paper to the late Dr. Willes, who returned it the next day, and informed his lordship, that the characters he had sent to him formed certain words, which he had written beneath the cipher, but that he did not understand the language, and lord Granville declared, that the words were exactly those which he had first written, before he put them into cipher.

* Colonel Vallancey says, that authors are at a loss for the derivation of this word, which is not to be found in any dictionary of the Irish: however he applies it to the elements of letters, and says it was practised by the Irish Druids, though he never saw any Druidical writings. *Irish Grammar*, 2d edit. p. 4, et seqq. Dublin, 1782, 8vo.

given a specimen in the twenty-second plate, and which is mentioned at p. 135, contains an Ogham or cipher of this kind.

King Charles I. corresponded with the earl of Glamorgan, when in Ireland, in the Ogham cipher, a specimen of which is given in the thirty-first plate; some of this correspondence is preserved amongst the royal letters in the Harleian library.

The second and third kinds of Ogham used by the Irish, were called *Ogham-Beith* and *Ogham-coll*, or *Craobh*; the former was so called, from placing the letter *Beith* or *B*, instead of the letter *A*, &c. It was also called *Ogham Consoine*, which was no more than to substitute consonants in the place of vowels.

The latter called *Ogham Coll*, is composed of the letter *C* or *Coll*, and is formed by substituting that letter for all the vowels, diphthongs, and triphthongs, repeated, doubled, and turned, as in the specimens in the plates above mentioned; those Oghams in the latter, are taken from a ms. lately presented to the British Museum by the late Rev. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, President of the Society of Antiquaries of London, which was formerly in the library of Henry earl of Clarendon (N^o 15). This ms. contains several tracts, but that from which part of the thirty-first plate is taken, is intituled, (*Anonymi Hiberni Tractatus apud Hibernos veteres, de occultis scribendi formulis seu artificijs Hibernicè Ogum dictis.*)

OF MUSICAL NOTES. Signs or Marks for the notation of Musical Compositions, are of very high antiquity; they

were used by the most ancient nations. The Hebrew musical notes consisted only in accents over the words, whereas the Greeks and Romans used *letters* as well as *marks* in the notation of their music; but the notation of music hath been so ably treated of by a variety of authors, that it is unnecessary to enter fully into the subject. John Nicholaus, so frequently mentioned, and Walterus in his *Lexicon Diplomaticum* (Gottingen, 1756) have exhibited a variety of specimens of characters used for the notation of music to the sixteenth century; and Sir John Hawkins and Dr. Burney have given the history of this inchanting art to the present time, in which works the lovers of this science will find much instruction and entertainment.

CHAP. VII.

OF NUMERALS AND OF NUMERAL CHARACTERS.

NUMERALS USED BY UNCIVILIZED NATIONS—NUMERALS AND NUMERAL CHARACTERS OF DIFFERENT NATIONS—INDIAN NUMERAL CHARACTERS—WHEN INTRODUCED INTO EUROPE.

THE use of numbers is the foundation of all the arts of life: for we cannot conceive that men can carry on any kind of business without the practice of arithmetic or computation in some degree; even in barter between the American hunter and fisherman numbers are necessary; and it will presently appear, that men in their most rude and uncivilized state have the use of numbers; and therefore we shall not be surprised to find numeral characters in use amongst the Mexicans and other nations, before they were acquainted with letters: the former were first invented, because they were first necessary to mankind.

Although the language of the uncivilized Hurons in North America is very imperfect, and they have made but little progress in arts, yet they have a decimal arithmetic; as have also the Algonkins, who are in the same uncivilized state.

The President of the Royal Society, Sir Joseph Banks, hath given some account of the arithmetic of the inhabitants of the new-discovered island of Otaheite in the South Seas; which is printed in lord Mountbodo's work on the Origin and Progress of Language.

* Vol. i. p. 542, & seqq where an account is also given of the numerals and manner of computation among the Hurons and Algonkins. See also Baron Hontan's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 217.

The Otaheiteans count to ten, and then turn back as the Hurons and Algonkins do; when they come to twenty, they have a new word. They afterwards proceed not by *tens*, but by *scores*, and so on to ten *score*; then in the same manner to ten times ten score, that is to two thousand; and then they go on to ten times that number, or twenty thousand; and after this they have no name for any number, though Sir J. Banks believes they count farther.

Bayan, in his *Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani*, hath given us the names of numerals in the Indian languages.^b Colonel Vallancey hath published the names of numerals in all the languages which he could collect;^c and Mr. Forster hath given us ample accounts of the numerals used by the uncivilized inhabitants of the southern Hemisphere, in his relation of the voyage, wherein he accompanied captain Cook into those parts.^d Dr. Parsons hath published the names of the numbers of several of the North American Indian nations.^e

The Mexicans, when we first discovered them, had not the use of letters; but they had numeral characters, which they used for computing and keeping the accounts of tribute paid by the different provinces into the royal treasury. The figure of a circle represented an *unit*, and in small numbers the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by peculiar marks or characters, and they had such as denoted all integral numbers from twenty to eight thousand.^f

The first and most natural method of counting seems to have been by the fingers, which would introduce the method of numbering by decimals practised both in Asia and in America, many of whose inhabitants give a name to each unit from one to ten; and proceed to add an unit to the

^b Scythæ Parthos Bactrianosque considerunt (Justinus) Bractriani Scythæ fuerunt—Parthi quoque ipsi a Scythiis originem trahunt. (Trog. Pomp.)

^c Collect. de rebus Hibernicis, N° XII. Dublin, 1783, 8vo.

^d Mons. Gebelin, in his *Monde Primitif*,

hath given us the names of the numerals in fourteen languages of the South Seas.

^e Namely, of the Mohawks, the Onondagas, Wanats, Shawanese, Delawares, and Caribbeans. Remains of Japhet, chap. x.

^f See Dr. Robertson's *History of America*, vol. ii. p. 289. See also *Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Paris, 1754, 4to.

ten, till there are twice ten; to which last they give a peculiar name, and so on to any number of tens.

The names of numerals are very different not only in several parts of Asia, but in both North and South America, as appears from the authors just quoted.

Small stones were also used amongst uncivilized nations: hence the words *calculate* and *calculation* appear to have been derived from *calculus*, the Latin for a pebble-stone. Alphabetic letters had also a certain numerical value assigned them, and several Greek characters were employed to express particular numbers.

The combination of Greek numeral letters was not well known to the Latins before the thirteenth century, although Greek numeral letters were frequently used in France and Germany in episcopal letters, and continued to the eleventh century; but of all the Greek ciphers the Episema *Ϟ* was most in use with the Latins; it gradually assumed the form of *G* with a tail, for so it appears in a Latin inscription of the year 296. It is found to have been used in the fifth century in Latin mss. it was reckoned for 6, and this value has been evinced by such a number of monumental proofs that there is no room to give it any other. Some of the learned, with even Mabillon, have been mistaken in estimating it as 5, but in a posthumous work he acknowledges his error.*

Those authors were led into this error by the medals of the emperor Justinian having the episema for 5; but it is a certain fact that the coiners had been mistaken and confounded it with the tailed *U*; for the episema was still in use in the fourth century, and among the Latins was estimated as 6, but under a form somewhat different. Whenever it appears in other monuments of the western nations of Europe of that very century, and the following, it is rarely used to express any number except 5.

The Etruscans also used their letters for indicating numbers by writing them from right to left, and the ancient Danes copied the example in the application of their letters.

The Romans, when they borrowed arts and sciences from the Greeks, learned also their method of using alphabetical numeration. This custom however was not very ancient among them. Before writing was yet

* Hist. of St. Denis, vol. ii. p. 346.

current with them they made use of nails for reckoning years, and the method of driving those nails became in process of time a ceremony of their religion. The former eight Roman numerals were composed of the I and the V. the Roman ten was composed of the V proper, and the V inverted Λ , which characters served to reckon as far as forty, but when writing became more general, I, V, X, L, C, D, and M were the only characters appropriated to the indication of numbers. The above seven letters in their most extensive combination produce six hundred and sixty-six thousand ranged thus, DCLXVIM. Some however pretend that the Romans were strangers to any higher number than 100,000. The want of ciphers obliged them to double, treble, and multiply their numeral letters four-fold; according as they had occasion to make them express units, tens, hundreds, &c. &c. For the sake of brevity they had recourse to another expedient, by drawing a small line over any of their numeral characters they made them stand for as many thousands as they contained units. Thus a small line over \overline{M} made it 1000, and over \overline{XX} expressed 10,000, &c.

When the Romans wrote several units following, the first and last were longer than the rest $IIII$, thus *vir* after those six units signified *sea-vir*. D stood for 500, and the perpendicular line of this letter was sometimes separated from the body thus $I\overline{D}$ without lessening its value. M, whether capital or initial expressed 1000. In the initial form it sometimes assumed that of one of those figures, $CI\overline{D}$, CD , ∞ ∞ . The cumbent \propto was also used to signify a similar number.

As often as a figure of less value appears before a higher number, it denotes that so much must be deducted from the greater number. Thus I before V makes but four, I before X gives only nine, X preceding C produces only 90, and even two XX before C reckons for no more than 80. Such was the general practice of the ancient Romans with respect to their numerical letters, which is still continued in recording accounts in our Exchequer.

In ancient mss. 4 is written IIII and not IV, 9 thus VIIII and not IX, &c. Instead of V five units IIIII were sometimes used in the eighth century. Half was expressed by an S, which signifies Semis or half, at the end of the figures, $CIIS$ was put 102 and a half. This S sometimes appeared in the form of our 5.

In some old mss. those numeral figures LXL are used to express 90. The Roman numeral letters were generally used both in England, France, Italy, and Germany, from the earliest times to the middle of the fifteenth century.

The ancient people of Spain made use of the same Roman numerals as we do. The X with the top of the right hand stroke in form of a semi-circle reckoned for 40; it merits the more particular notice, as it has misled many of the learned. The Roman numeral letters however were continued in use with the Spaniards until the fifteenth century. The Germans used the Roman numerals for a long time nearly in the same manner as the French.

With respect to the dates of Charters, the use of Roman numerals was universal in all countries; but to avoid falling into error, it must be observed that in such dates, as well as in those of other monuments of France and Spain, number a thousand was sometimes omitted, the date beginning by hundreds; in others the thousands were set down, and the hundreds left out; and in the latter ages both thousands and hundreds were alike suppressed, and they began with the tens; as if —78 was put for 1778: a practice now used in letters, and in affairs of trifling consequence.

It is also necessary to observe, that the ancients frequently expressed sums by even numbers, adding what was deficient to complete them, or omitting whatever might be redundant. This mode of reckoning is often used in sacred writings, and was thence introduced into other monuments.

The ancient scribes or copyers, and even the more modern, committed frequent mistakes in writing the Roman numeral letters, particularly with regard to V, L, M, &c.

The points after the Roman numerals were exceedingly various, and never rightly fixed. It is not known when the ancient custom was first introduced of placing an O at top immediately after the Roman characters, as A° M° L° VI° &c.^a

These alphabetic letters were very ill suited to Algebraic calculations, which were little known in Europe till after the Indian numbers were

^a Many numeral contractions used by the Romans may be seen in *Sextorius Ursatus de Notis Romanorum*.

brought from the East. The Romans in some measure supplied the defects of their numeral characters by their *Abacus* or *Counting Table*¹.

The Indians and Arabians were well skilled in the arts of astronomy and of arithmetic, which required more convenient characters, than alphabetic letters, for the expressing of numbers. Many opinions concerning their origin, and the time of their introduction into Europe, have prevailed.

Some writers ascribe the honour of this invention to the Indians, and say they communicated them to the Arabs, from whom they were introduced among us by the Moors. This Indian origin is generally considered as the best founded, and is most respected by men of learning. Others insist they were derived from the Greeks, who communicated them to the Indians, whence we received them. Matt. Paris, Bernard Vossius, bishop Huet, and Ward, the Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham college, London, support the latter opinion, which appears however to be founded on mere arbitrary conjectures. Calmet advanced another, and deduced those ciphers from a Latin source, contending that they are nothing but the remains of the ancient signs of Tiro; but, besides that this fancied resemblance is far-fetched, the signs of Tiro were so far disused in the tenth century, that there were scarcely any traces of them to be seen after the beginning of the eleventh, unless the abbreviation of *and* by 7 and of *us* at the end of a word by °.

Some have attributed the honour of having first introduced the numeral characters at present used in Europe to Planudes, a Greek Monk; others to Gerbert the first French Pope, styled Sylvester II.

The Spaniards contend, that they were first introduced by their king Alphonsus X. on account of those astronomical tables named after him; but all these various pretensions appear to have been built upon very vague foundations.

It is therefore necessary to endeavour to obtain better information upon this subject.

The numeral figures, which have for some centuries prevailed in Europe, are certainly Indian. The Arabians do not pretend to have

¹ See an account of the Roman and Chinese *Abacus*, in the abridgment of the *Philosoph. Transact.* vol. iii. part ii. page 442, plate 1.

been the inventors of them, but they ascribe their invention to the Indians, from whom they borrowed them; and it will presently appear that the numeral characters used by the Bramins, the Persians, the Arabians, and some other eastern nations are similar to each other; and that the same characters were introduced into Europe, where they prevailed till the fifteenth century.

The learned Dr. Wallis of Oxford delivers it as his opinion,* that the Indian or Arabic numerals were brought into Europe together with other Arabic learning about the middle of the tenth century, if not sooner.

We find that in the beginning of the twelfth century Adelard, a Monk of Bath, travelled into Spain, Egypt, and Arabia, and translated Euclid, and some other authors, out of Arabic into Latin; it was not till long after this time that Euclid's Elements was supposed to have been originally written in Greek. His translation of Euclid from the Arabic into Latin is now extant in the Bodleian library, (N° 3359, Selden 29, and N° 3623, S. 157). There is also in the same library (N° 1612, Digby 11), a Latin translation by Adelard of an Arabic book *de Stellis*; and a translation by him from an Arabian ms. of a Treatise on Astronomy intituled, *Isagoge minor Japharis Mathematici*, (N° 1669, Digby 68); as also a translation of another Arabic book intituled, *Ezich el Kauresmi*, (N° 4137, S. 5.)

Several other persons also travelled from England into the East in search of learning, as Retinensis about the year 1140; Shelley about 1145; and Morley about 1180. Different authors who lived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries have written upon astronomical and algebraical subjects, in which they have used the Indian numeral figures. Robertus Cestrensis wrote a treatise of astronomical tables, adjusted to the beginning of the year 1150. Jordanus wrote a treatise *De Algorismo*, about the year 1200, says Vossius.¹ There are two treatises of John de Sacrobosco, *De Algorismo*, who wrote in 1232, and died in 1256. This author wrote a book in 1235, intituled, *De Computo Ecclesiastico*, wherein Arabic or Indian numerals are used. Robert Grossthead, bishop of Lincoln,

* See Wallis's Algebra, Oxon. 1685.

¹ See some of his Tracts in the Bodleian library. N° 3623.

also made use of these figures about the year 1240.^m Numeral characters of the same form appear in Roger Bacon's Calendar, which was written in the year 1292, and is now extant in the Cottonian library, which characters continued to be used in England without alteration till the fifteenth century.ⁿ

These numeral characters were at first rarely used, unless in mathematical, astronomical, arithmetical, and geometrical works. They were afterwards admitted in calendars and chronicles, for they were not introduced into charters before the sixteenth century; the appearance of such before the fourteenth would invalidate their authenticity. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries they may be sometimes found, though very rarely; those exceptions, should they be discovered, would only help to confirm the rule, that excludes them from appearing in instruments previous to the sixteenth century.

They were not generally used in Germany, until the beginning of the fourteenth century, or towards the year 1306; but in general the forms of the ciphers were not permanently fixed there till after the year 1531. The Russians were strangers to them before Peter the Great had finished his travels in the beginning of the present century.

In order to prove the similarity of the numeral characters in the East, to those brought into this country by the persons abovementioned, we have engraven several of them in the thirtieth plate from authentic documents:

A is taken from an almarfack in my library, written in Dacb-Naagree characters, and in the Shanscrit language, in the year 1749.

The Bramins alledge, that neither the forms of their letters, nor of their numeral characters, have ever been altered.

B Numeral characters, taken from the Zenda-Vesta at Oxford, which is written in ancient Persian.

^m The following works of this prelate are extant in the Bedleian library, *Quædam Arithmetica* (N^o 1705, Digby 103). *De Sphæra, et de Cautelis Algorismi* (N^o 1748). *Computus Ecclesiast.* (N^o 1792. Cons. Ep. Linc. 1235, ob. 1253.)

ⁿ Some of them were altered so late as the sixteenth. See *Phil. Trans. Abr.* vol. x. part iv. p. 1261.

C Maharrattan numeral characters from a ms. of George Perry, Esq.

B The numeral characters used in Tartary and Thibet, from another of Mr. Perry's manuscripts.

E Bengalese numeral characters communicated by Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq.

F Arabic numerals from a ms. in the British Museum.

G Numeral characters written in 1292 from Roger Bacon's calendar in the Cottonian library. (Vesp. A. II.)

Colonel Vallancey says, that the ancient Irish had numeral characters of two kinds, the one resembling the Roman, except the X, the other the Arabic, like those of John de Sacro-Bosco, who died in 1252, which except the figure 2, are exactly like those in Roger Bacon's calendar; specimens of which are given in the thirtieth plate (G.)

The Colonel observes, that the Irish numeral characters correspond with those in Dr. Bernard's tables of the Spanish from the Arabic, and that they are like those of the Palmyreans, also engraven in Dr. Bernard's tables; but we must remark, that there is so little difference between the former of these, and those of John de Sacro-Bosco, and of Roger Bacon,* that they may with great propriety be called the same. As for the Palmyrenian characters, the first nine are manifestly the same, as those used by the Romans, being composed of the *I* and the *V*, but written in the eastern manner.

The learned editors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, (vol. iv. pref. p. 7.) refer to several mss. in Italy and in France to prove that Arabic numerals were used in both those countries in the latter end of the tenth, and in the beginning of the eleventh century.

* Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, N° XII. p. 571, et seqq. Dublin 1783, 8vo.

† They are engraven in the abridgment of the Philosoph. Transact. vol. ix. p. 432, in

which vol. Professor Ward shews, that the dates on a chimney-piece at Helmden, on a house at Colchester, and others, are not so old as have been pretended. See also vol. x. of the same abridgement, p. 1260.

CHAP. VIII.

OF WRITERS, ORNAMENTS, AND MATERIALS FOR WRITING.

OF THE LIBRARIII, NOTARIII, AND ANTIQUARIII—OF ILLUMINATORS
—OF PAINTINGS AND ORNAMENTS—OF MATERIALS FOR WRITING
UPON—OF INSTRUMENTS FOR WRITING WITH—OF INKS.

AFTER having completed our design concerning the origin, antiquity, and progress of writing, and the national variations, together with the Sigla or literary signs, and ciphers or numerals, used by the ancients, it may be proper to treat of several other particulars which relate to the subject of our inquiry.

The Librarii, or writers of books among the Romans, were generally of a servile condition, and every man of rank, who was a lover of literature, had some of these Librarii in his house. Atticus trained up many of his *Servi* or slaves to this service, and, when he resided at Athens, he had several of them employed in transcribing Greek authors for his emolument, many of which were purchased by Cicero, as appears in his life by Dr. Middleton. Frequent mention is made of these Librarii by several Roman authors, thus Horace de Arte Poetica, *Ut Scriptor si peccat idem Librarius usque*, and Martial, Lib. II. Epigram viii. *Non meus est error: nocuit Librarius illis*, and Lib. IV. Epigr. ult.

Jam Librarius hoc et ipse dicit,
Ohe jam satis est, ohe Libelle.

The Librarii were afterwards formed into a particular company who had several immunities, and they were regulated by certain laws. The Roman emperors appointed Librarii to write for the Consuls, the Judges,

and the Magistrates, as appears in the Theodosian Code, Lib. I. *De Decurialibus urbis Romæ, et de Lucris officiariorum*. The *Librarii Horreorum* were officers who kept the accounts of the corn received into, and delivered out of, the public granaries.

The office of Scribe was an honourable post among the Jews. The Scribes were employed by their kings to keep the national records, and to transcribe copies of their laws; they are mentioned in Numbers, chap. xxi. v. 14. in Joshua x. v. 13. and Christopher Hen. Trotez, in his notes on Herman Hugo *de prima scribendi* — Orig. (p. 425) says, “*Verum equidem est Judæorum scribas fuisse eruditos et peritissimos; immò adeò eleganter et emendate scripsisse, ut ipsè ferè typographicae arti videantur eorum manuscripta præsertim legis præferenda.*”

Anciently the Scribes or Secretaries were held in honour amongst the Greeks, though not by the Romans. Cornelius Nepos in his life of Eumenes of Cardia says, “*Hic peradolescētulus ad amicitiam accessit Philippi Amyntæ filii, brevique tempore in intimam pervenit familiaritatem; fulgebat enim jam in adolescentulo indoles virtutis: itaque eum habuit ad manum Scribæ loco; quod multo apud Græcos honorificentius est quam apud Romanos; nam apud nos revera, sicut sunt, mercenarii scribæ existimantur.*”

NOTARII. We have already spoken of the Notæ used by the Short-hand writers, who were called Notarii amongst the Romans, because they were employed by them to take trials and pleadings in their courts of judicature, or to write as amanuenses from the mouth of an author, in these kind of notæ or marks.

These Notarii amongst the Romans were also of servile condition. Under the reign of Justinian they were formed into a college or corporate body. Notarii were also appointed to attend the præfects, to transcribe for them. There were likewise *Notarii Domestici*, who were employed in keeping the accounts of the Roman nobility; concerning whom see the Theodosian Code, Lib. II. and III. *De Primiceriis et Notariis*. Pancirollus, in *Notit. Imperatorum*, hath given several particulars concerning these Notarii, as hath Gutherius in his work, *De Officiis Domus Augg.* They were afterwards versed in the laws of the empire, and were considered

as lawyers; so early as in the seventh century they acted as notaries public in civil affairs.

There were also Notaries for ecclesiastical affairs, who attested the acts of archbishops, bishops, and other spiritual dignitaries. We find ecclesiastical notaries at Rome under pope Julius IV. and in the church of Antioch, about the year 370.* From these Notaries, are derived the office of chancellor to the bishops; afterwards almost every advocate was admitted a Notary.

ANTIQUARIÏ. After the decline of learning amongst the Romans, and when many religious houses were erected, learning was chiefly in the hands of the clergy; the greatest number of which were Regulars, and lived in monasteries: in these houses were many industrious men, who were continually employed in making new copies of old books, either for the use of the monastery or for their own emolument: these writing Monks were distinguished by the name of AntiquariÏ; they deprived the poor LibrariÏ or common *Scriptores* of great part of their business, so that they found it difficult to gain a subsistence for themselves and their families. This put them upon finding out more expeditious methods of transcribing books; they formed the letters smaller, and made use of more jugations and abbreviations than had been usual; they proceeded in this manner till the letters became exceedingly small; the abbreviations were very numerous, and extremely difficult to be read: this in some measure accounts for the great variety of hands in the species of writing called Modern Gothic, of which we have already spoken. When a number of copies were to be made of the same work, it was usual to employ several persons at the same time in writing it; each person, except him who wrote the first skin, began where his fellow was to leave off.

ILLUMINATIONS. Besides the writers of books, there were artists whose profession was to ornament and paint manuscripts, who were called Illuminators; the writers of books first finished their part, and the Illuminators embellished them with ornamented letters and paintings. We frequently find blanks left in manuscripts for the

* Tillemont, T. xi. p. 406.

Illuminators which were never filled up. Some of the ancient manuscripts are gilt and burnished in a style superior to later times. Their colours were excellent, and their skill in preparing them must have been very great.

PAINTINGS, ORNAMENTS,
AND ILLUMINATIONS.

The practice of introducing ornaments, drawings, emblematical figures, and even portraits into manuscripts, is

of great antiquity. Varro wrote the lives of seven hundred illustrious Romans, which he enriched with their portraits, as Pliny attests in his Natural History (lib. xxxv. chap. 2). Pomponius Atticus, the friend of Cicero, was the author of a work on the actions of the great men amongst the Romans, which he ornamented with their portraits, as appears in his life by Cornelius Nepos (chap. 18.); but these works have not been transmitted to posterity; however there are many precious documents remaining, which exhibit the advancement and decline of the arts in different ages and countries. These inestimable paintings and illuminations display the manners, customs, habits ecclesiastical, civil, and military, weapons and instruments of war, utensils and architecture of the ancients; they are of the greatest use in illustrating many important facts relative to the history of the times, in which they were executed. In these treasures of antiquity are preserved a great number of specimens of Grecian and Roman art, which were executed before the arts and sciences fell into neglect and contempt. The manuscripts containing these specimens form a valuable part of the riches preserved in the principal libraries of Europe, viz. the Royal, Cottonian, and Harleian libraries, as also those in the two Universities in England, the Vatican at Rome, the Imperial at Vienna, the Royal at Paris, St. Mark's at Venice, and many others.

The fragment of that most ancient book of Genesis, which is mentioned at p. 70, formerly contained two hundred and fifty curious paintings in water colours. Twenty-one fragments, which escaped the fire in 1731, are engraven by the society of antiquaries of London; several specimens of curious paintings appear in Lambecius's catalogue of the Imperial library at Vienna, particularly in vol. iii. where forty-eight drawings of nearly equal antiquity with those in the Cottonian library above referred to are engraven; and several others may be found in various

catalogues of the Italian libraries. The drawings in the Vatican Virgil made in the fourth century, before the arts were entirely neglected, illustrate the different subjects treated of by the Roman poet. A miniature drawing is prefixed to each of the gospels brought over to England by St. Augustin in the sixth century, which is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, in Cambridge: in the compartments of those drawings are depicted representations of several transactions in each gospel. The curious drawings, and elaborate ornaments in St. Cuthbert's gospels made by St. Ethelwald, and now in the Cottonian library, which has been already mentioned, exhibit a striking specimen of the state of the arts in England in the seventh century. The same may be observed with respect to the drawings in the ancient copy of the four gospels preserved in the cathedral church of Litchfield, and those in the Codex Rushworthianus, in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The life of St. Paul the hermit, now remaining in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, (G 2) affords an example of the stile of drawing and ornamenting letters in England in the eighth century, a specimen of which is given in the seventeenth plate (p. 102): the copy of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* in the Cottonian library (Cleop. c. 8.) exhibits the style of drawing in Italy in the ninth century.

Of the tenth century there are Roman drawings of a singular kind in the Harleian library (N^o 2820).

N^{os} 5280, 1802, and 432 in the same library contain specimens of ornamented letters, which are to be found in Irish mss. from the twelfth to the fourteenth century.

Cædmon's Poetical Paraphrase of the book of Genesis written in the eleventh century, which is preserved amongst F. Junius's mss. in the Bodleian library, exhibits many specimens of utensils, weapons, instruments of music, and implements of husbandry used by the Anglo-Saxons. The like may be seen in extracts from the Pentateuch of the same age in the Cottonian library (Claud. B. 4). The manuscript copy of Terence in the Bodleian library (D. 17.) displays the dresses, masks, &c. worn by comedians in the twelfth century, if not earlier. The very elegant Psalter in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, exhibits specimens of the art of drawing in England in the same century.

The Virgil in the Lambeth library of the thirteenth century, (N^o 471)

written in Italy, shows both by the drawings and writing, that the Italians produced works much inferior to ours at that period. The copy of the Apocalypse in the same library (N° 209) contains a curious example of the manner of painting in the fourteenth century.

The beautiful paintings in the history of the latter part of the reign of king Richard II. in the Harleian library, (N° 1319) afford curious specimens of manners and customs, both civil and military, at the close of the fourteenth, and in the beginning of the fifteenth century. As does (N° 2278) in the same library.

Many other instances might be produced; but those, who desire farther information, may consult Strutt's *Regal and Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, 4to, and his *Horda-Angel-cynnan* lately published in three Rive is now or was lately preparing, at Paris, a work on the Art of illuminating and ornamenting Manuscripts, to be accompanied with twenty-six plates in folio; wherein are to be exhibited exact copies of paintings, selected from miniatures preserved in some of the finest and best executed manuscripts in Europe.

We shall conclude this head by observing, that from the fifth to the tenth century, the miniature paintings which we meet with in Greek mss. are generally good, as are some which we find among those of Italy, England, and France. From the tenth to the middle of the fourteenth century they are commonly very bad, and may be considered as so many monuments of the barbarity of those ages; towards the latter end of the fourteenth the paintings in manuscripts were much improved; and in the two succeeding centuries, many excellent performances were produced, especially after the happy period of the restoration of the arts; when great attention was paid to the works of the ancients, and the study of antiquity became fashionable. It would take up too much time to enumerate the many curious illuminated manuscripts in our public libraries, exclusive of those in several private collections.

The different materials, on which the ancients wrote, will be presently mentioned; but it may be proper in this place to observe, that it was usual for them to stain the paper or parchment, on which fine manuscripts and instruments of sovereign princes were written, with purple and other colours.

Ovid, who lived at the time of the nativity of Christ, and in the reign of the emperor Augustus, speaks of the usage of staining materials for writing upon with purple, and alludes to the custom of tinging them with an oil drawn from cedar wood to preserve them from corruption; he mentions the writing of the titles with red ink, and shews, that in his time it was usual to write upon rolls, which was the ancient method. His words are,

“Nec te purpureo velent vaccinia succo:
Non est conveniens luctibus illis.
Nec titulus minus nec cetero charta notetur:
Candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.”ⁱ

and in another place of the same book,

“Sunt quoque mutatae ter quinque volumina formae.”

St. Jerom, who lived in the fourth century, mentions, that there were in his time books very pompously written on parchment of a purple colour in letters of gold and silver; and that the whole books were written in large letters, such as are commonly used at the beginning of sentences, by which we conceive he means Initial or Uncial letters.

His words are,

“Habeant qui volunt veteres libros, vel in membranis purpureis Auro Argento-que descriptos, vel initialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis, onera magis exarata quam Codices; dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere scedulas, et non tam pulchros Codices quam emendatos.”^k

And in his epistle to Eustochius, he says,

“Inficiuntur Membranæ colore purpureo, aurum liquescit in litteras.”

The ancient Greek copy of the book of Genesis in the Imperial library at Vienna, of which the third plate contains a specimen, is written on vellum of a purple colour. The four gospels in the Royal library (1 E. vi.) written in the eighth century, have several leaves of purple. Some of

ⁱ Ovid. de Tristibus Eleg. ad Librum.

^k Prolog. ad lib. Job.

the leaves, on which the fine book of the four gospels in the Harleian library (N° 2788) is written, are stained with purple, and the borders ornamented with different colours. This book was written in letters of gold in the eighth century. The four gospels in the Cottonian library, (Tiberius A. 2.) which king Æthelstan appointed for the Saxon kings to take their coronation oaths upon, hath some leaves of purple vellum in it. The Vatican library, the Imperial library at Vienna, the Royal library at Paris, and several other libraries in Italy, France, and Germany, contain many manuscripts written both in Greek and Latin on purple vellum, from the fourth to the tenth century; specimens of several of which are given in Blanchin's *Evangelium quadruplex*, and many particulars concerning them may be seen in the second volume second (p. 492 et seqq.), under the article, *De Codicibus aureis, argenteis, ac purpureis*; and in Lambecius's catalogue of the Imperial library at Vienna mention is made of several others: the learned Mabillon in his work, *De re diplomatica*, gives an account of many more.

The eastern nations stain their paper of different colours. There is in my library an Arabic manuscript, intituled, *Regula seu modus bene loquendi*, by Sheick Mohamed ebn Melck. Some of the leaves are of a deep yellow, and other of a lilac colour.

The Romans deposited their most valuable works in cases or chests made of cedar wood; they also used an oil expressed from the cedar tree, to preserve them from the worms, as appears by the following passages:

-Speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro.

HORACE *Ars Poetica*, v. 331.

Cedro nunc licet ambules perunctus.

MARTIAL, lib. iii. epigr. 2.

Hujus in arbitrio est, seu te juvenescere cedro,

Seu jubeat duris vermibus esse cibum.

AUSONIUS, ad libellum suum.

Pliny tells us that Numa's books were rubbed with an essence called *Cedrium*, which preserved them, though they had lain five hundred years under ground. Vitruvius (cap. 11. lib. ii.) says, that from cedar is taken an essence called *Cedrium*, and that books, which are rubbed with it, neither

become mouldy nor worm-eaten. Though we should not give implicit credit to Pliny's relation, yet it tends to prove the antiquity of the usage.

The best method of preserving records, is by keeping them dry, and free from dust, as in the Tower of London.

In the Harleian library (N° 2820.) are the pictures of the four Evangelists, and that of St. Jerom, with laudatory verses on them, written on purple leaves in the tenth century; and N° 2821 in the same library contains various pictures drawn on purple leaves in the same century.

MATERIALS. It is now proper to inquire what materials have been used for writing upon in different ages and countries. The most ancient remains of writing, which have been transmitted to us, are upon hard substances, such as stones and metals; which were used by the ancients for edicts, and matters of public notoriety: the Decalogue was written on two tables of stone; but this practice was not peculiar to the Jews, for it was used by most of the eastern nations, as well as by the Greeks and Romans; and therefore the ridicule, which Voltaire attempts to cast upon that part of the book of Genesis, where the people are commanded to write the law on stones, is absurd; for what is there said, by no means implies, that other materials might not have been used on common occasions. The laws penal, civil, and ceremonial among the Greeks, were engraven on tables of brass which were called *Cyrbes*. Herodotus mentions a letter engraven on plates of stone (*ενταμνων εν τοις λιθοις γραμματα*) which Themistocles, the Athenian general, sent to the *Ionians* about five hundred years before the birth of Christ. The famous tables of Isis, now in the Royal Collection at Turin, prove the practice among the Egyptians. The Eugubian and Oscan tables, which have already been mentioned, prove the same among the Pelasgi, and the other ancient inhabitants of Italy; as do the laws of the twelve tables among the Romans, which were graven on brass. The two tables of brass discovered at Heraclea, in 1732, and published by Mazochius, in 1758,^m (the former in the Greek language, containing a decree concerning the boundaries of

¹ Herod. lib. vii. cap. 22.

See the dissertations on these tables by Dr. Pettingal and Mr. Webb, published in 1760.

lands belonging to a temple of Bacchus, written somewhat more than three hundred years before the birth of Christ; and the latter a law made about forty-one years before the Christian æra) prove the continuation of the practice:" but there are so many proofs of the usage of engraving public transactions on stones and metals and from the earliest times, till after the decline of the Roman empire, that it is not necessary to say more on the subject.

WOOD.

Wood was also used for writing upon in different countries. In the Sloanean library (N° 4852), are six specimens of Kufic writing on boards about two feet in length and six inches in depth. The Chinese before the invention of paper wrote or engraved with an iron tool upon thin boards, or on bamboo. Pliny says, that table books of wood were in use before the time of Homer, and refers for the proof of what he says to the following words in the Iliad, concerning Bellerophon,

Πῆρ' ὅγε σήματα λυγρὰ,
Γράψας ἐν πίνακι πύκνῳ θυμοφθόρα πολλά.*

Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius inform us, that Solon's laws were inscribed on tables of wood,^p and Propertius says,

* Non illas (*tabellas*) fixum caras effecerat aurum,
"Vulgari *Buxo* sordida cera fuit."^q

And Ovid,

— Veneri fidas sibi Naso tabellas
Dedicat, at nuper vile fuistis acer.^r

* It is said that upwards of three thousand tables of brass kept in the capitol perished by a fire in the reign of Vespasian, on which were written many laws, treaties of alliance, &c. Machab. cap. 8 & 14. Cicero de divinis, lib. ii. Tit. Liv. Decad. 1 lib. iii. Plin. Hist. lib. xxxiv. cap. 9.

^p Iliad vi. v. 168.

The dreadful tokens of his dire intent,

^q He in the gilded tables wrote and sent.

^p The original in Diogenes Laertius is, ἐξ τῆς ἀξονας which word is thus explained by Scapula in his Lexicon: Apud Athenienses ἀξονες erant axes lignei in quos Leges Solonis erant incisæ. A. Gellius, also mentions the same thing in these words; in Legibus Solonis illis antiquissimis, quæ Athenis Ἀξίβις Ligneis incisæ sunt.—Lib. ii. c. 12.

^q Lib. iii. 23. 8.

^r Lib. i. Eleg. 2.

Table books were also known to the Jews, for Solomon advises his son, "To write his precepts upon the Tables of his heart."¹ And Habakkuk, chap. ii. v. 2. "And the Lord answered and said, Write the vision, and make it plain upon Tables, that he may run that readeth it." It is observable that Solomon lived a thousand years, and Habakkuk about six hundred and twenty-six, before the Christian Æra.

These Table books were called by the Romans *Pugillares*, some say because they were held in one hand; the wood was cut into thin slices, and finely plained and polished; the writing was at first upon the bare wood with an iron instrument called a Style; in later time these tables were usually waxed over, and written upon with that instrument; the matter written upon the tables, which were thus waxed over, was easily effaced, and by smoothing the wax new matter might be substituted in the place of what had been written before.

The Greeks and Romans continued the use of waxed table books long after the use of papyrus, leaves and skins, became common; because they were so convenient for correcting extemporary compositions: from these table books they transcribed their performances correctly into parchment books, if for their own private use; but if for sale, or for the library, the *Librarii* had the office. The writing on table books is particularly recommended by Quintilian in the third chapter of the tenth book of his institutions, to which we refer our readers. Ovid also in his story of *Caunus* and *Byblis*^m mentions some particulars which illustrate this subject:

"Dextra tenet ferrum, vacuam tenet altera ceram;

"Incipit, et dubitat, scribit, damnatque tabellas;

"Et notat, et delet, mutat, culpatque probatque,

"Inque vicem sumptas ponit, positasque resumit.

And afterwards,

"Talia nequicquam perarantem plena reliquit

"Cera manum, summusque in margine verus adhæsit."

Proverbs, chap. iii. v. 3. See also Isaiah, chap. xxx. v. 8.

^m Metamorph.

When epistles were written on tables of wood, they were usually tied together with thread, the seal being put upon the knot; whence the phrase *Linum incidere*, to break open a letter, was common amongst the Romans. Some of these table books were large, and perhaps heavy; for in Plautus a school boy of seven years old is represented breaking his master's head with his table book. *Priusquam septuennis est, si attingas eum manu, ex templo puer paedagogo tabulâ dirumpit caput.* Bac. Scen. iii. act 3.

Table books written upon with styles were not intirely laid aside in the fifteenth century, if we may credit Chaucer, who in his Sompner's Tale hath these lines:

“ His fellow had a staffe tipped with horne,
 “ A paire of tables all of iveric;
 “ And a pointell polished fetouslie,
 “ And wrote alwaie the names, as he stood,
 “ Of all folke, that gave hem any good.”

Table books of ivory are still used for memoranda, written upon with black lead pencils.

The practice of writing on table books covered with wax was not intirely laid aside, till the commencement of the fourteenth century.

Ivory was also used by the Romans for writing upon, as we are informed by the learned editors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie*,^a who say there was a law among the Romans, which directed, that the edicts of the senate should be written on books of ivory.

BARK. The bark of trees hath been used for writing upon in every quarter of the globe, and it still serves for this purpose in several parts of Asia; one of these is in the Sloanian library (N° 4726), written in perpendicular columns in the Batta character, used in the island of Sumatra, on a long piece of bark folded up so as to represent a book. Another specimen of writing on bark in India occurs in the same library (N° 3478), which is a Nabob's letter, on a piece of bark

Dict. *Diplomatique*, vol. i. p. 424.

^a Ib. vol. i. p. 422.

about two yards long, and richly ornamented with gold. The people on the Malabar coast also frequently write upon bark with the stylus, several specimens of which are preserved in the British Museum, and in many other public repositories, as well as in private collections. In the Bodleian library (N° 3207), is a book of Mexican hieroglyphics painted on bark: it is observable, that the word *Liber* was used by the Romans as well for the bark of a tree, as for a book. A specimen of Latin writing on bark is preserved in the Cottonian library.

LEAVES.

Leaves have also been used for writing upon in most nations. Pliny, whose diligence of inquiry and spirit of research cannot be too much commended, speaking particularly of the Egyptians says, that men at first wrote upon the leaves of palm trees. The Sibyls leaves referred to by Virgil prove that the use of leaves for writing on was familiar to the Romans.

Insanam vatem aspicias, quæ rupe sub ima
Fata canit, foliisque notas & nomina mandat.
Quæcunque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo,
Digerit in numerum, atque antro seclusa relinquit:
Illa manent immota locis, neque ab ordine cedunt.
Verum eadem verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
Impulit, & teneras turbavit janua frondes;
Numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo,
Nec revocare situs, aut jungere carmina curat. *ÆNEID. l. iii. v. 443.*

The writing on leaves was also proverbial among the Romans; thus Juvenal:

Credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllæ.

Diodorus Siculus relates, that the judges of Syracuse were anciently accustomed to write the names of those, whom they sent into banishment, upon the leaves of olive-trees.^a

The practice of writing upon the leaves of palm-trees is still very prevalent in different parts of the east. In the Sloanian library above-

^a This fact is abundantly proved from lib. xi. cap. 35.

^b This sentence was termed *Petalism*, from *πεταλον*, a leaf.

mentioned are upwards of twenty mss. written in different parts of Asia, in the Shanscrit, Barman, Peguan, Ceylonese, and other characters used in those parts.

PARCHMENT AND VELLUM.

The skins of beasts were also used for writing upon in the most early ages. That Eumenes, king of Pergamus, who was cotemporary with Ptolomy-Philadelphus, was the first inventor of parchment, as some authors have asserted, is contradicted both by sacred and prophane history.^c Diodorus Siculus says,^d that the ancient Persians wrote their records on skins; and when Herodotus affirms, that the skins of sheep and goats were used for writing upon in the most early times by the Ionians, he is to be understood to refer to a period of time many centuries prior to the reign of Eumenes. It is probable that the art of preparing parchment for writing upon was improved at Pergamus in the time of Eumenes; which might account for calling the best parchment *Pergamene*, this commodity being one of the principal articles of commerce of that place. It is not necessary to add more concerning the early use of parchment, as this fact is abundantly proved from the documents before referred to, and from the specimens of ancient manuscripts given in the preceding plates. The Mexicans used skins for their paintings, some of which are in the Bodleian library, and have been mentioned in the first chapter. Linen and silk have also been used for writing upon by different eastern nations.^e

PAPYRUS.

The Egyptian Papyrus, or Paper-rush, was manufactured by the ancients for writing upon. Varro says, that in the time of Alexander the Great the practice of writing on this plant was first introduced into Egypt; which was found so convenient, that Ptolomy-Philadelphus caused his books to be transcribed on Papyrus; this plant soon became a principal article of commerce, and was coveted by the other nations of Europe, and Asia, who were all furnished with it from Egypt.

But although it may be admitted, that this was a great and beneficial

^c See Mr. Ayscough's catalogue of this library, p. 904, 905, 906. See above p. 49.

^d Isaiah, chap. viii. v. 1. Jeremiah, chap. xxxvi. v. 2. Ezekiel, chap. xi. v. 2.

^e Lib. ii.

^f Universal Hist. Mod. p. vol. viii. p. 212.

article of commerce, yet Pliny asserts (lib. xiii. c. 11. and 13), that it was used by the Egyptians three centuries before the reign of Alexander. In the description, which Pliny and other writers give of this plant, we are informed that it abounds in marshy places in Egypt, where the Nile overflows and stagnates. It grows like a great bull-rush from fibrous reedy roots, and runs up in several triangular stalks to the height of ten cubits, according to Pliny; but Theophrastus says,² that it seldom exceeds three feet; the stalks grow somewhat tapering, and are about a foot and a half in circumference in the thickest part. They have large tufted heads, which being unfit for making paper, the stem only was slit into two equal parts; from which, when the outward rind or bark was taken off, they separated the thin film, of which the stem is composed, with a sharp pointed instrument; the innermost coats were esteemed the best. These pellicles, or thin coats, being flaked from the stalk they laid upon a table two or more over each other transversely, and glued them together either with the muddy and glutinous water of the Nile, or with fine paste made of wheat flower; after being pressed and dried, they made them smooth with a roller, or sometimes they rubbed them over with a solid glass hemisphere. These operations constituted the Egyptian papyrus, as far as the art of making it has been discovered.

The size of this paper seldom exceeded two feet, but it was oftentimes smaller; it had different names, according to its size and quality. The first was called *Imperial*, which was of the finest and largest kind, and was used for writing letters, by the great men amongst the Romans. The second sort was called by the Romans the *Livian* paper, from Livia the wife of Augustus; each leaf of this kind was twelve inches. The third sort was called the *Sacerdotal* paper, and was eleven inches in size.

The paper used in the amphitheatres was of the dimensions of nine inches. Coarser kinds of papyrus were imported into Italy from Egypt in early times; for the particulars concerning which see the *Dictionnaire de Diplomatique*, vol. ii. p. 166. There are several charters written on papyrus extant both in Italy and in France, as has been already shewn under the head of running-hand.³

² Hist. Plant. l. iv. c. 9.

³ There is a magnificent charter written on papyrus in the British Museum, which was purchased at the sale of the Pinelli library.

From the Papyrus of Egypt the name of Paper was no doubt first derived; and the word *Charta* or *Charter* common to all acts, probably came from *Carta*, the word used by the Romans, for the paper of Egypt. In the early ages all Diplomatic instruments were written upon this paper preferably to every thing else on account of its beauty and size. In the seventh century the papyrus was superseded by parchment, and after the eighth it is rarely to be seen: it was however used in Italy for epistolary writing in the time of Charlemagne, and by the popes even in the eleventh century; it was not intirely disused by them till the twelfth, as we find by some specimens of bulls and other instruments engraven in the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*; though Eustathius, who lived in that century, remarks in his Commentary on the twenty-first book of the *Odyssey*, that it was disused in his time; therefore an instrument written on this paper, and dated in the thirteenth century, must be deemed a forgery. It does not appear, that the papyrus was ever used for writing upon in England or in Germany.

CHINESE PAPER. The Chinese make paper of the bark of a tree, called *Ku-Chi*, from the *Chu-Ku* tree, from whose inner rind it is taken; which tree in figure nearly resembles our mulberry, but by its fruit is rather a kind of fig-tree; the method of cultivating this tree, and their manner of making the paper, may be seen in Du Halde's *History of China*, and in the modern part of the *Universal History* (vol. viii. p. 211.) This paper is so thin and transparent, that it will not bear being written upon except on one side, but they frequently double their sheets, and glue them together with a fine glue, which is scarce discernible; the paper being so smooth and even, and the glue so thin and clear, that it appears like a single leaf. The invention of paper in China, is said to have been about fifty years after the birth of Christ, according to Kircher, Du Halde, Martini, and Le Compte; but others contend, that it is of much earlier antiquity among that people.

COTTON PAPER. The cotton paper, called *Charta Bombycina*, was an eastern invention; and Montfaucon says, it was used in the ninth century: it was more common in the beginning of

the twelfth century, and was in general use about the beginning of the thirteenth. This cotton paper was little made use of in Italy, except in that part of the country which had intercourse with the Greeks, as Naples, Sicily, and Venice; but even they did not write their charters or records upon it, till the eleventh century: so that a Latin charter on cotton paper of the tenth century would be suspected, though a Greek charter of that age may be genuine.

The paper made of cotton in the east is so fine, that many have mistaken it for silk: but Du Halde says, that silk cannot be beat into such a pulp or paste as to make paper, though he afterwards mentions a strong and coarse paper, which is made of the balls of silk-worms; other authors speak of silk paper, but we shall not here decide upon that matter.

PAPER MADE OF
LINEN RAGS.

The paper, which we now use, and which is made of linen rags, surpasses all other materials for ease and convenience of writing, upon: perhaps, says Mr. Chambers, the Chinese have the best title to this invention, who for several centuries have made paper in the same manner as we do. There are many opinions concerning the use of this kind of paper in Europe. Dr. Prideaux delivers it as his opinion, that it was brought from the east, because most of the old mss. in the Oriental languages are written on this kind of paper; he thinks it most probable, that the Saracens of Spain first brought it out of the east into that country, from whence it was dispersed over the rest of Europe.^m The same learned author assures us, he had seen a register of some acts of John Cranden, prior of Ely, made on paper, which bears date in the fourteenth year of king Edward II. A.D. 1320; and in the Cottonian library are said to be several writings on this kind of paper, as early as the year 1335. Mention is made of an inventory in the library of the dean and chapter of Canterbury of the goods of Henry, prior of Christ Church, who died in 1340, written on paper made with linen rags.ⁿ

The editors of the *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie* mention a charter

^k Descript. of China, p. 360.

^l The first paper-mill in England was erected at Dartford by M. Spilman, a German, in the year 1588.

^m Prideaux's Connection, p. l. vii. p. 710, &c.

ⁿ Philosoph. Transactions, N° 268.

made by Adolphus, count of Schomberg, written on paper made of the like materials dated in the year 1239; and they are of opinion that it was first introduced into Europe in the thirteenth century.

Although paper is now chiefly made of linen rags beaten to a pulp in water, yet it may also be made of nettles, hay, straw, parsnips, turhops, colewort leaves, flax, or of any fibrous vegetable.

INSTRUMENTS FOR WRITING WITH.

It is obvious, that when men wrote, or rather engraved, on hard substances, instruments of metal were necessary, such as the *Chisel* and the *Stylus*; but the latter was chiefly used for writing upon boards, waxed tablets, or on bark: these were sometimes made of iron, but afterwards of silver, brass, or bone, called in Greek *γραφίον*, and in Latin *Stylus*; though the Romans adopted the Greek word, as appears by this verse in Ovid:

Quid digitos opus est *graphium* lassare tenendo?

The *Stylus* was made sharp at one end to write with, and blunt at the other to deface and correct what was not approved; hence the phrase *vertere stylum* to blot out, became common among the Romans. The iron styles were dangerous weapons, and were prohibited by the Romans, and those of bone or ivory were used in their stead. Suetonius tells us, that Cæsar seized the arm of Cassius in full senate, and pierced it with his *Stylus*. He also says that Caligula excited the people to massacre a Roman senator with their styles. And Seneca mentions that one Erixo, a Roman knight in his time, having scourged his son to death was attacked in the *forum* by the mob, who stabbed him in many parts of his body with the iron styles, which belonged to their *Pugillares*, so that he narrowly escaped being killed, though the emperor interposed his authority. Prudentius very emphatically describes the Tortures which Cassianus^p was put to by his scholars, who killed him with their *pugillares* and styles:

Buxa crepant cerata genis impacta cruentis,
Rubetque ab ictu curva humens pagina;

^o De Clementia, lib. i. cap. 14.

^p This Cassianus was the first bishop of Sibon, in Germany, where he built a church in 350; but he was driven away by the Pagans,

and fled to Rome, where he commenced school-master for a subsistence. In the year 365, he was, by the order of the emperor Julian, exposed to the merciless rage of his scholars.

Inde alii stimulos, et acumina ferrea vibranti
Quâ parte aratis cera sulcis scribitur.

Περὶ συγγραμμάτων, p. 93.

When the ancients wrote on softer materials than wood or metal, other instruments were used for writing with, of which reeds and canes seem to have been the first. Pliny says that Egypt furnished a great quantity of the kind of reeds which were used for writing with; and Martial hath these words:

“Dat chartis habiles calamos Memphitica tellus.”

Reeds and canes are still used as instruments for writing with by the Tartars, the Indians, the Persians, the Turks, and the Greeks. Mr. Halhed tells me that the two first of these nations write with small reeds bearing the hand exceeding lightly. Tavernier in one of his voyages says the same of the Persians. Rauwolf, who travelled in 1583, relates, that the Turks, Moors, and eastern nations, use canes for pens, which are small and hollow within, smooth without, and of a brownish red colour.

The canes in Persia are cut in March, which they dry in the smoak for about six months; those, which are covered with a fine varnish of black and yellow, are esteemed the best for writing with.

The Indians more frequently write with the cane called Bamboo, which are cut about the length and thickness of our pens.

Pencils made of hair are used by the Chinese for their writing: they first liquify their ink, and dip their pencils into it. The large capital letters similar to those in the eighth plate were made with hair pencils from the time of the Roman emperors till the sixteenth century. After the invention of printing they were drawn by the illuminators.

Quills of geese, swans, peacocks, crows, and other birds have been used in these western parts for writing with, but how long is not easy to ascertain. St. Isidore of Seville, who lived about the middle of the seventh century, describes a pen made of a quill as used in his time.

Pliny, Hist. l. xvi. c. 36.

Lib. xiv. Epigr. 34.

Rauwolf's Travels, p. 87.

Instrumenta scribæ calamus et penna; ex his enim verba paginis infiguntur; sed calamus arboris est, penna avis, cujus acumen dividitur in duo.

Some of the instruments necessary for the occupation of a librarius or book-writer are delineated in a book of the four gospels in the Harleian library (N° 2820), written in Italy in the tenth century. The vellum, on which this book is written, is stained of different colours at the beginning of each gospel.

OF INKS. Ink has not only been useful in all ages, but still continues absolutely necessary to the preservation and improvement of every art and science, and for conducting the ordinary transactions of life.

Daily experience shews, that the most common objects generally prove most useful and beneficial to mankind. The constant occasion we have for Ink evinces its convenience and utility. From the important benefits arising to society from its use, and the injuries individuals may suffer from the frauds of designing men in the abuse of this necessary article, it is to be wished, that the legislature would frame some regulation to promote its improvement, and prevent knavery and avarice from making it instrumental to the accomplishment of any base purposes.

Simple as the composition of Ink may be thought, and really is, it is a fact well known, that we have at present none equal in beauty and colour to that used by the ancients; as will appear by an inspection of many of the mss. above quoted, especially those written in England in the times of the Saxons. What occasions so great a disparity? Does it arise from our ignorance, or from our want of materials? From neither, but from the negligence of the present race; as very little attention would soon demonstrate, that we want neither skill nor ingredients to make Ink as good now, as at any former period.

It is an object of the utmost importance that the Records of Parliament, the Decisions and Adjudications of the Courts of Justice, Conveyances from man to man, Wills, Testaments, and other Instruments, which affect property, should be written with Ink of such durable quality, as may best resist the destructive powers of time and the elements. The

^t Isid. Hisp. Orig. lib. vi. cap. 14.

necessity of paying greater attention to this matter may be readily seen by comparing the Rolls and Records, that have been written from the fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth, with the writings we have remaining of various ages from the fifth to the twelfth centuries. Notwithstanding the superior antiquity of the latter, they are in excellent preservation; but we frequently find the former, though of more modern date, so much defaced, that they are scarcely legible.

Inks are of various sorts, as encaustic or varnish, Indian ink, gold and silver, purple, black, red, green, and various other colours: there are also secret and sympathetic Inks.

The Ink used by the ancients had nothing in common with ours, but the colour and gum. Gall-nuts, copperas, and gum, make up the composition of our Ink; whereas soot, or ivory black, was the chief ingredient in that of the ancients; so that very old charters might be suspected, if written with Ink intirely similar to what we use; but the most acute and delicate discernment is necessary in this matter, for some of the Inks formerly used were liable to fade and decay, and are found to have turned red, yellow, or pale: those imperfections are however rare in mss. prior to the tenth century.

There is a method of reviving the writing, but this expedient should not be hazarded, lest a suspicion of deceit may arise, and the support depended on be lost.

Golden Ink was used by various nations, as may be seen in several libraries, and in the archives of churches. Silver Ink was also common in most countries. Red Ink, made of vermilion, cinnabar, or purple, is very frequently found in mss. but none are found written intirely with Ink of that colour. The capital letters in the seventh plate are made with a kind of varnish which seems to be composed of vermilion and gum. Green Ink was rarely used in charters, but often in Latin mss. especially in those of the latter ages: the guardians of the Greek emperors made use of it in signatures, till the latter were of age. Blue or yellow Ink was seldom used but in mss. The yellow has not been in use, as far as we can learn, for six hundred years.

Metallic and other characters were sometimes burnished. Wax was used as a varnish by the Latins and Greeks, but much more by the latter,

with whom it continued a long time. This covering or varnish was very frequent in the ninth century.

COLOUR.

The colour of the Ink is of no great assistance in authenticating mss. and charters. There is in my library a long roll of parchment, at the head of which, is a letter that was carried over the greatest part of England by two devout Monks, requesting prayers for Lucia de Vere, countess of Oxford, a pious lady, who died in 1199; who had founded the house of Henningham, in Essex, and done many other acts of piety. This roll consists of many membranes, or skins of parchment sewed together; all of which, except the first, contain certificates from the different religious houses, that the two Monks had visited them, and that they had ordered prayers to be offered up for the countess, and had entered her name in their head-rolls. It is observable, that time hath had very different effects on the various inks, with which these certificates were written; some are as fresh and black as if written yesterday, others are changed brown, and some are of a yellow hue. It may naturally be supposed that there is a great variety of hand-writings upon this roll; but the fact is otherwise, for they may be reduced to three.

The letter at the head of the roll is written in modern Gothic characters: four-fifths of the certificates are Norman, which shews that this mode of writing had then taken place of almost every other. Some of the certificates are in modern Gothic letters, which we conceive were written by English monks; and a very few are in Lombardic small letters. It may however be said in general, that black ink of the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, at least amongst the Anglo-Saxons, preserves its original blackness much better than that of succeeding ages; not even excepting the sixteenth and seventeenth, in which it was frequently very bad. Pale ink very rarely occurs before the four last centuries.

* The letter, with an account of it, is in Weever's Funeral Monuments, last edit. Lond. 1707, 4to. p. 379.

* The Texta Sancti Cuthberti in the Cot-

tonian library, (Nero D. 4.) of which a specimen is given in the fourteenth plate, and many other Anglo-Saxon mss. of which also specimens have been given, demonstrate the truth of this assertion.

Petr Caniparius, Professor of Medicine at Venice, wrote a curious book concerning Inks, which is now scarce, though there is an edition of it printed in London in 1660, 4to. The title is, *De Atramentis cujuscunque generis opus sanè novum. Hactenus à nemine promulgatum.* This work is divided into six parts. The first of which treats generally of Inks made from pyrites, stones, and metals.

The second treats more particularly of Inks made from metals and calxes.

The third of Ink made from soots and vitriols.

The fourth of the different kinds of Inks used by the librarii or book-writers, as well as by printers and engravers, and of staining or writing upon marble, stucco or scagliola, and of encaustic modes of writing; as also of liquids for painting or colouring of leather, cloths linen and woollen, and for restoring Inks that have been defaced by time; as likewise many methods of effacing writing, restoring decayed paper, and of various modes of secret writing:

The fifth part treats of Inks for writing, made in different countries, of various materials and colours; as from gums, woods, the juice of plants, &c. and also of different kinds of varnishes.

The sixth part treats of the various operations of extracting vitriol, and of its chymical uses.

This work abounds with a great variety of philosophical, chymical, and historical knowledge, and we conceive will give great entertainment to those who wish for information on this subject. Many curious particulars concerning Ink will be found in *Weckerus de Secretis.* This gentleman also gives receipts for making Inks of the colour of gold and silver, composed as well with those metals as without them; also directions for making variety of Inks for secret writing, and for defacing of Inks. There are many marvellous particulars in this last-mentioned work, which will not easily gain credit with the judicious part of mankind.

CHAP. IX.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF
PRINTING,

SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN AN EASTERN INVENTION—FIRST PRACTISED IN EUROPE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—PROGRESS OF THE ART—OF PRINTING IN ENGLAND.

As the invention or rather the introduction of printing into Europe has been attended with the most beneficial advantages to mankind, some account of the origin and progress of that art may be acceptable.

It has not been pretended that the art of printing books was ever practised by the Romans, and yet the names they stamped on their earthen vessels were in effect nothing else but printing, and the letters on the matrices or stamps used for making these impressions were necessarily reversed, as printing types; several of these matrices are extant in the British Museum and in other places, which are cut out of, or are cast in one solid piece of metal.

Many hundred pieces of the Roman pottery, impressed with these stamps have been found in the sands near Reculver in Kent, and on the eastern side of the Isle of Shepway, where they are frequently dragged up by the fishermen. The art of impressing legends upon coins is nothing more than printing on metals.

It is generally allowed, that printing from wooden blocks has been practised in China for many centuries. According to the accounts of the Chinese, and of P. Jovius, Osorius, and several other Europeans, printing began there about the year of Christ, 927, in the reign of Ming-Tcoung, the second emperor under the dynasty of Heou-Tsang: several

of these blocks, which are cut upon ebony, or on wood, exceedingly hard, are now in England.* The *Historia Sinensis* of Abdalla, written in Persic in 1317, speaks of it as an art in very common use.^b Our countryman, Sir John Chardin, in his Travels confirms these accounts.

Printing then may be considered as an Asiatic, and not a European invention.

The first printing in Europe was from wooden blocks, whereon a whole page was carved exactly in the same manner as is now practised by the Chinese, who print only on one side of their paper, because it is so exceedingly thin, that it will not bear the impression of their characters on both sides.

The early printers in Europe printed only on one side of the paper for some time after the introduction of the art; they pasted the blank sides together, which made them appear as one leaf.

The European blocks were carved upon beech, pear tree, and other soft woods, which soon failed, and the letters frequently broke; this put them upon the method of repairing the block, by carving new letters, and gluing them in, which necessity, seems to have suggested the hint of moveable types of metal; these were not so liable to break as the soft European woods, which had been before used.

One great and obvious advantage of moveable types was, that by separating them they would serve for any other work; whereas the blocks of wood served only for one work: though the use of moveable metal types was a very fortunate discovery, yet they derived their origin rather from the imperfection or unfitness of our woods for printing blocks, than from any great ingenuity of those who first used them. In short necessity, the mother of all arts, introduced moveable types.

It has been a matter of contest, who first practised the art of printing in Europe. Faust or Fust of Mentz, Gutenberg of Strasburgh, and Coster of Haerlem, have each their advocates. The pretensions in favour of Fust seem to be best supported; but we shall not trespass upon the patience of our readers by entering into a discussion of this matter, because

* Two of them were in the possession of the Rev. Dr. Lort, and one is in my collection.

^b See the Origin of Printing in two Essays by Mess. Bowyer and Nichols, Lond. 1776, 8vo.

such a discussion, would in our opinion be of little importance, it having been generally agreed, that printing with moveable types was not practised till after the middle of the fifteenth century, although prints from blocks of wood are traced as far back as the year 1423.*

It seems probable, that the art of printing might have been introduced into Europe by some European who had travelled into China, and had seen some of their printing tablets, as it is known that several Europeans had been over-land into China before this time;† and what strengthens this probability is, the Europeans first printed on one side of the paper only, in the same manner as the Chinese do at present, but, however this may be, the progress of the art was as follows:

First, pictures from blocks of wood without text.

Secondly, pictures with text.

Thirdly, whole pages of text cut on blocks of wood, sometimes for the explanation of prints which accompanied them. And,

Fourthly, moveable types. Specimens of all which are given in the *Idée générale des Estampes* just referred to.

There are several ancient blocks extant which were used in the fifteenth century; some are in the possession of Capt. Thompson, of Dulwich, in Kent.

I presented a block to Carl Spencer carved on a soft wood, which is the second in the *Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ ejusque visiones Apocalyptica*, generally called the Apocalypse.‡

* Those who wish for information concerning this contest, may peruse Mr. Meerman's *Origines Typographicæ*: and *Idée Générale d'un Collection complète d'Estampes*, by Mons. Christian Frederic Heineken, published at Leipsic and Vienna, in 1771.

† About the year 1260, Marco Paulo, a noble Venetian, travelled from Syria into Persia, and from thence into China, which was called *Cathay* till the sixteenth century; he wrote a book intituled, *De Regionibus Orientis*, wherein he mentions the vast and opulent city of Cambalu, or Khan-Balik, i. e. the imperial city which is now called *Pekin*. Hak-

luyt mentions that one Odoric, a friar of the order of *Minorites*, travelled to *Cambalu*, which is known to be *Pekin*, in China, of which city he gives a description, See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, p. 39 to 53.

‡ The following letter from my late friend Charles Rogers, Esq. containing an account of this block, may be acceptable:

To THOMAS ASTLE, Esq.

DEAR SIR, Jan. 15, 1781.

GIVE me leave to congratulate you on your fortunate acquisition of a block, which was used in the very infancy of printing, when the quotations and necessary explanations were cut

Two of the copies of the book, to which the block referred to belongs, were formerly in the library of Mons. Gaignat: they are now in his Ma-

in the same piece of wood with the subject represented, before moveable types were invented.

Yours, Sir, is for the second leaf of the "*Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ ejusque Visiones Apocalypticæ*," generally called "*The Apocalypse*;" in the upper part of which, St. John is represented carrying before the Præfect, with this inscription; "*Trahamus Johannem ad Præfectum qui Ydolorum culturam adnichilavit*;" and in the lower, St. John is embarking to be transported to Rome, over which is written, "*S. Johannes Romam mittitur, ac Domiciano imperatori crudelissimo Christianorum persecutori præsentatur*."

This M. Maittaire (in his *Annales Typographici*, p. 26) imagines to be the oldest of the four books, which were the first attempts of the art of printing; the second being the "*Speculum humanæ Salvationis*," illustrated with subjects from the Old and New Testaments, and with the prologues and explanations in Latin rhymes (this is known by the name of "*Speculum Salutis*" or "*La Bible des Pauvres*"); the third book is of the same cuts with Dutch prose; and the fourth, the "*Ars moriendi*" or "*Speculum morientium*," in which the good and bad angels are contending for the soul of a dying person.

Palmer,* who was himself a printer, gives the first place to the "*Ars moriendi*;" and the second to the "*Apocalypse*" (p. 53-4); and tells us, that its "*Paper has the mark of the heifer's head and horns*," which is allowed to be the mark in the paper Faust used, whose first essays were, from 1440* to 1450.

We have therefore no reason to give any credit to those Dutch writers, who would compliment their countryman, Laurence Coster,

of Haerlem, with the invention of every branch of the art of printing, and say that these books were printed so early as between 1428 and 1435; nor can it be allowed, that Coster was either a painter or engraver. (See "*Idée générale des Estampes*," p. 333.)

M. Chretien Frederic Heineken, inspector of the cabinet of prints and drawings of the electoral gallery at Dresden, who has given us a large volume in octavo, 1771, under the title of "*Idée générale d'une Collection complète d'Estampes*" p. 334, &c. says, that he has found six different editions of the "*Historia Sancti Johannis Evangelistæ, ejusque Visiones Apocalypticæ*," which were all printed on one side of the paper only, with such a tool as the makers of playing cards use; the first of them he mentions, consists of forty-eight blocks, most of which, like yours, is divided into two parts. A complete copy of this edition is in the Imperial library at Vienna; the ink very pale, and the figures illuminated, as are those of several other copies.†

Your print, Sir, belongs to the first edition; for in the second, the stem of the tree in the upper part is strait, bearing three boughs; and in the lower, there are five ropes fastened to the mast, instead of four, and the two trees are omitted.

The very early prints from wooden blocks, without the least shadowing or crossing of strokes, we may conjecture were first schemed by the illuminators of MSS. and the makers of playing cards: these they elegantly daubed over with colours, which they termed illuminating, and sold at a cheap rate to those who could not afford to purchase valuable missals, elegantly written and painted on vellum, and this conjecture seems to be corroborated by their subjects being religious, and particu-

* Or rather Psalmanazar, who was avowedly the author of the book which goes under Palmer's name.

† Dr. Askew's copy of this work was bought by Dr. Hunter. (*Origin of Printing*, by Bowyer and Nichols, 8vo. 1775, p. 175.)

esty's library at the Queen's house.' These books are printed on one side of the paper only.

The *Speculum Humanæ Salvationis* is also printed on one side of the paper; a copy of it is in Earl Spencer's library, who has several of these early books printed on one side of the paper.

The History of the Old and New Testament in folio is also printed on one side of the paper. There is a complete copy of this work in his Majesty's library,* which was purchased from that of Mons. Gaignat. Earl Spencer has also a copy. Mr. Heincken says, there is one copy of this work in the library of the Senate of Leipsic, containing forty leaves; one was in that of the duke de la Valliere, which has only twenty-two leaves; and one in the Electoral library at Dresden, besides several others.

The *Ars moriendi* contains twelve leaves printed on one side of the paper only; there is a copy of the first edition of this work in the library at Wolfenbuttel; and there are seven leaves of this edition in the public library at Memmingham. There are several other editions of this work; for an account of which see Heincken's *Idée generale d'Estampes* above quoted, p. 399 et seqq. in which mention is made of other books printed on one side of the paper from carved blocks of wood without dates, which are supposed to have been printed between 1440 and 1450.

Fust and Guttenberg are reported to have printed the bible at Mentz in 1450, or before the end of the year 1452, but several writers have doubted the fact, and assert, that the first edition of the bible was in 1462. Mons. de Bure says, that Fust and Guttenberg printed the bible in 1450, though it is without a date, and that there are different copies of it; one in the king of Prussia's library; one in the Benedictine convent near Mentz; and another was in the library of cardinal Mazarine; but it is probable that they omitted the Colophon in several copies, in order to

larly by one of their books being called the
"Poor's Bible."

I remain, Sir, &c.

CHARLES ROGERS."

* Historia S. Joannis cum figuris Apocalypsis tabulis 48 ligno incisus expressa cum Latinis argumentis iisdem tabulis incisus fol. (sine anni vel loci impressa notitia). Historia

S. Joannis cum figuris Apocalypsis tabulis 47 ligno incisus et coloratis expressa cum Latinis argumentis iisdem tabulis incisus altera editio, fol. (sine anni vel loci indicatione); but both these copies are imperfect.

‡ Historiæ veteris et novi Testamenti figuris ligno incisus expressa cum brevi explicatione Latina, fol. (Edit. primæ vetustatis tentamen artis impressoriæ sine loco et anno).

sell them as *mass*. which Fust afterwards attempted, particularly at Paris in 1466. Fust and Guttenberg are also said to have used moveable types of wood, but I cannot believe that more than a few pages were ever printed by them with such types.

Guttenberg separated from Fust in 1455; and Fust with Schoeffer, his servant and son-in-law, printed a Psalter at Mentz, in 1457, with moveable types: the capitals were of wood, and the small letters of metal; but Mcerman says, that these were cut types, and not the improved cast types; and asserts, that the first book printed with the latter, was, *Durandi Rationale*, printed at Mentz, in 1459.

Heineken (p. 264) mentions several copies of the Psalter of Mentz, particularly a very fair one in the Imperial library at Vienna; at the end of which are the following words:

Presens Psalmorum codex venustate capitalium decoratus rubricationibusque sufficienter distinctus, ab inventionis artificiosa imprimendi ac characterisandi, absque calami exaratione sic effigatus, ad Eusebiam dei industrie est consummatus per Joannem Fust civem Moguntinum, et Petrum Schoeffer de Gernszheim, Anno Domini Millesimo CCCCLVII. in Vigilia Assumptionis.

His Majesty has lately procured a fine copy of this rare book for his noble library; and earl Spencer has also one very fair; besides these, there are only four others known to be extant. Earl Spencer has also another edition of this Psalter, printed at Mentz in 1459. His lordship has also an Indulgence printed in moveable metal types in 1455, during the pontificate of Nicholas the Fifth.

In 1460 Fust and Schoeffer published with their improved types the Catholicon, which hath the following Colophon:

Altissimi presidio, cujus nutu infantium lingue fiunt diserte. Quique numero sepe parvulis revelat, quod sapientibus celat. Hic liber egregius Catholicon, Dominice incarnationis annis M.CCCC.LX. alma in Urbe Moguntina Nationis inclite Germanice, quam Dei clementia tam alto ingenii lumine donoque gratuito, ceteris terrarum Nationibus præferre illustrareque dignatus est. Non calami, styli aut penne suffragio, sed mira patronarum formarumque concordia proportionem et modulo impressus atque confectus est.

There is a fine copy of this edition in his Majesty's library at the Queen's house; another copy is in the Royal library at Paris.

In 1462 Fust and Schoeffer printed an edition of the Bible at Mentz in two volumes folio, in Gothic characters, which is justly esteemed a good performance; there are several copies of this edition extant, particularly

one in his Majesty's library, where there is a fair copy of the New Testament, of the same place and date, printed on vellum. If the pretended edition of 1450 without the Colophon was compared with this of 1462, the question, whether they are different editions or not, would be decided.

In 1465 Fust and Schoeffer printed at Mentz an edition of Tully's Offices, and in the next year another edition of the same work. Some have asserted, that these were one and the same book, but both the editions are in his Majesty's library, which I have seen. The Colophon to that first printed is as follows:

Presens Marci Tullij clarissimū opus. Jo-
hannes Fust, Mogūtinus civis. nō atramē
to. plumali cāna neq; aerea. Sed arte qua-
dam perpulcra. *Petri manu pueri mei felici-*
citer effeci finitum. Anno M. cccc. lxx.

The second edition hath this Colophon:

Presens Marci Tullij clarissimū opus. Jo-
hannes Fust Mogūtinus civis. nō atramē-
to, plumali cāna neq; aerea. Sed arte qua-
dam perpulcra. *manu Petri de Gernshem*
pueri mei feliciter effeci finitum. Anno M.
cccc. lxxi. quarta die mensis februarij, &c.

From the year 1462 the art of printing spread very rapidly through Europe, and was encouraged by the sovereigns of every nation. In 1465 the Institutes of Lactantius, were printed in the Sublacensian monastery near Rome: this is said to have been the first attempt towards printing in Italy; a fair copy of this book is in his Majesty's library; the letters are partly Gothic.

John Bember printed at Augsburg in 1466.

In 1467, printing was practised at Rome by Sweynheim and Pannartz. Their first book was Cicero's Familiar Epistles. In the next year they printed several books. In 1469 they published an elegant edition of Aulus Gellius. In the same year John de Spira produced from his press at Venice his most beautiful edition of Pliny's Natural History; which is printed in elegant Roman types in a manner, which would do credit to the present times. In the course of the next year Spira published a

edition of Virgil, which though well printed is not to be compared with the book last mentioned.

In the year 1472 Nicholas Jenson printed at Venice a most elegant edition of Pliny's works; he seems to have endeavoured to excel his master Spira: both these beautiful editions of the works of Pliny are in the Royal library at the Queen's house, and also in earl Spencer's library, and they may be truly said to be in the perfection of the art. Jenson's edition of Aulus Gellius, printed in the same year, doth him great credit.

In 1470 printing was practised at Paris, Cologne, and Milan.

In the year 1478, Sixtus Riessenger printed at Naples, and Andrew Gallus at Ferrara. Henry Eggestein had a printing press at Strasburgh. There were also presses in this year at Bologna and at Lubec.

In 1472, Bernard and Dominic Cenini printed at Florence: in the same year printing presses were established at Padua, Parma, Mantua, and Verona: in this year printing was practised in Saxony, and in a few years afterwards in the most considerable parts of Europe.

Italy claims the honour of first printing in Greek characters. In the edition of Lactantius's Institutes above mentioned, which appeared in the year 1465, the quotations from the Greek authors are in very neat Greek letters.^a Earl Spencer has a fair copy of this book.

The first whole book that was printed in that language, is supposed to have been the Grammar of Constantinus Lascaris in 4to, produced from the press of Dionysius Palavissinus at Milan in 1476. In 1481 the Greek Psalter was printed in that city, as were Æsop's Fables in 4to.

In 1486 two Greek books were printed at Venice, namely, the Psalter, and the Batrachomyomachia; the former by Alexander, the latter by Laonicus, both natives of Crete; these books are printed in uncommon characters, the latter of them with *accents* and *spirits*, and also with *scholia*. Earl Spencer has a fair copy of this work.

The folio edition of Homer's works, which was produced from the press of Demetrius, a native of Crete, who first printed Greek at Florence in 1488, eclipsed all former publications in this language. A fine copy of this edition is in the library of the Royal Society, and another in earl Spencer's, and two more in the British Museum.

^a The few Greek quotations, which appear in Tully's Offices printed at Menz in 1465, are incorrect and barbarous, that they scarcely deserve to be mentioned.

In 1493, a fine folio edition of Isocrates was printed at Milan by German and Sebastian. All the above works are prior in time to those of Aldus, who is erroneously supposed to have been the first Greek printer; but the beauty, correctness, and neatness of his editions place him in a much higher rank than his predecessors; and his characters in general were more elegant than any before used.¹ He was born in 1445, and died in 1515, and was the inventor of the *Italic* characters, which are still used, called from him *Aldine* or *Cursive*.² The Greek editions of the celebrated family of Stephens are much esteemed.

Printing in Hebrew was practised as early as 1477, when the Psalms appeared in that language. In 1482 the Pentateuch was printed. In 1484 the prior Prophets; the posterior, in 1486. The Hagiographia, in 1487, and the whole Bible Text in one volume at Saneino with vowel points by Abraham fil. Rabbi Hhaiim in 1488.

The first Polyglott work was printed at Genoa in 1516, by Peter Paul Porrus, who undertook to print the Pentaglott Psalter of Augustin Justinian, bishop of Nebo. It was in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Greek, with the Latin verses, glosses, and scholia, which last made the eighth column in folio. In 1518 John Potken published at Cologne, the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic. In the year 1522 the Complutensian Bible, consisting of six large folio volumes, was printed under the auspices of that great man, cardinal Ximenes. A polyglott Pentateuch, was printed at Constantinople in 1546, and another in 1547.

In the year 1636 the congregation, *pro propaganda Fide*, at Rome, had types for the Samaritan, for the Syriac, both Eshito, and Estrangelo, for the Coptic, for the Armenian, and for the Hcracleah or ancient language of the Chaldees. Since which time they have cast types for the Gentoo, Tartar, Bramin, Bengalese, Malabaric, and several other Asiatic languages.

Some years ago Ferdinand the late prince of Parma furnished that University which he re-established, with the types of twenty different eastern languages, which appear in a most magnificent book printed at Parma, at the Royal press in 1775, on the marriage of the prince of Piedmont with Mary Adelaide Clothilda of France in twenty-four languages. This book is in his Majesty's library.

¹ Aldus's Psalter was printed in 1495 or 1496.

² Aldus first used these characters, in 1501.

OF PRINTING IN
ENGLAND.

William Caxton hath been generally allowed to have first introduced and practised the Art of Printing in England in the reign of king Edward IV. He was born in the Weald of Kent, and was first a citizen and mercer of London; at length he became a reputable merchant, and in 1464 he was one of the persons employed by king Edward IV. in negotiating a treaty of commerce with the duke of Burgundy, and was afterwards patronised by Margaret duchess of Burgundy, sister to that king. Caxton having received a good education in his youth had a taste for learning, and made himself master of the Art of Printing. He tells us himself, that he began to print his translation of "*Le Recueil des Histoires de Troyes*," at Bruges, in 1468, that he continued the work at Ghent, and that he finished it at Cologne in 1471.¹ A fair copy of this book is in his Majesty's library.

The first book, which Caxton printed in England, was the *Game at Chess*, which was finished in the Abby of Westminster the last day of March 1474. In 1475 he printed the *Book of Jason*. In 1477 the *Dictes and sayings of the Philosophers*. For an account of the other books printed by Caxton, see Herbert's History of Printing.

The first letters used by Caxton were of the sort called *Secretary*, and of these he had two founts: afterwards his letters were more like the modern Gothic characters, written by the English Monks in the fifteenth century. Of these he had three founts of Great Primer, the first rude, which he used in 1474; another something better; and a third cut about the year 1488. Besides these he had two founts of English or Pica, the latest and best of which were cut about 1482; one of Double Pica, good, which first appeared in 1490; and one of Long Primer, at least agreeing with the bodices which have since been called by those names; all these resemble the written characters of that age, which have been distinguished by the name of Monkish-English. Those characters nearly resemble their prototypes used by the first printers in Germany.^m

¹ See Ames's *Typograph. Antiq.* p. 2 and 3.

^m About the time of the Restoration a book was taken notice of, which is dated at Oxford, in 1468, and was said to have been printed there by Frederick Corsellis; but Dr. Middleton and Mr. Lewis are of opinion that an X was dropped, either carelessly or by design;

and that both the types and press-work are too well executed for that time, and deliver it as their opinion, which they support with many strong arguments, that it could not have been printed before 1478. Mr. Bryan Twyne, Mr. Richard Atkyns, and Mr. Meernan, endeavour to prove that the book was printed at Oxford

In the year 1478 printing was first practised in the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge; and two years afterwards we find a press at St. Alban's. Specimens of the first types used by Caxton, and by printers at the places above mentioned, may be seen in Herbert's History of Printing.

Caxton lived till the year 1491, when he was succeeded by Wynkyn de Worde, who had served him for many years, and was connected with him in business at the time of his death. Wynkyn made considerable advances in the Art of Printing, and enriched his foundery with a variety of new types; his letters were what are called the Old English (or Square English), which have been the pattern for his successors for black letter printing. He is said to have first brought into England the use of round Roman letters, though it does not appear that he ever printed in those letters. The first Roman, which I remember to have seen, is a marginal quotation in Pica, at the latter end of the second part of a book intituled, "*the Extirpation of Ignorance compiled by Sir Paule Bushe, Preeste, and Bonhome of Edyndon,*" printed by Pynson without a date; but, in 1518 Pynson printed a book wholly in Roman types, as appears in Ames (p. 120). Pynson's contemporary, William Faques, in 1503 made a fount of English letters, equal, if not exceeding, in beauty any, which our founders at this day produce. The favourite characters of these times were large types, and particularly Great Primer. Although considerable progress was made in the Art of Printing in the fifteenth century, yet the English presses produced no works in the Greek, or in the Oriental languages till the sixteenth. The first Greek book I know of, that was printed in England, is the Homilies set forth by Sir John Cheke, and printed at London in 1543, by Reg Wolfe. It is true, that about the year 1523 Sibert of Cambridge printed a few Greek quotations interspersed among his Latin; but I do not find, that he printed any whole book in the Greek language.

About the year 1567, John Daye, who was patronised by archbishop Parker, cut the first Saxon types, which were used in England. In this year Asserius Menevensis was published by the direction of the

by Corsellis at the time it bears date. Messrs. Bowyer and Nichols in their work on the Origin of Printing have taken much pains to elucidate this fact. I have considered all the evidence I could collect upon this subject;

and I am firmly persuaded, that the Oxford book was not printed before 1478; and therefore I do not hesitate to assert, that in my opinion Caxton was our first printer.

archbishop in these characters; and in the same year-archbishop Ælfric's Paschal Homily; and in 1571 the Saxon gospels." Daye's Saxon types far excel in neatness and beauty^{any}; which have been since made, not excepting the neat types cast for F. Junius at Dort, which were given by him to the University of Oxford.

Notwithstanding cardinal Wolsey founded a Hebrew lecture at Cambridge in the beginning of the sixteenth century, no books were printed here in Hebrew characters before the year 1592, when Dr. Rhese published his *Institutiones Linguae Cambro-Britannicæ*.

In the year 1657 the English Polyglott in six volumes folio was printed at London under the auspices of archbishop Usher and bishop Walton. This magnificent work was begun in 1653, and contains the sacred text in the *Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac, Chaldean, Arabic, Persic, Æthiopic, Greek, and Latin* languages, all printed in their proper characters. Besides the characters exhibited in the body of this great work, the Prolegomena furnish us with more; namely, the *Rabbinical, the Hebrew, the Syriac duplicates, Nestorian, and Estrangelan, the Armenian, the Egyptian, the Illyrian, both Cyrillian and Hieronymian, the Iberian, and the ancient Gothic*. Most of the rare books above specified are to be found in his Majesty's library at the Queen's house, in the British Museum, or in that of earl Spencer.

The greatest difficulty, which the first letter-founders had to encounter, was the discovery of the necessary number of each letter for a fount of types in any particular language; and in order to know this they would endeavour to find out how much oftener one letter occurred than another in such language. Perhaps this discovery was made by casting off the copy, as the printers call it; which is, by calculating the number of letters necessary for composing any given number of pages, and by counting the number of each letter which occurs in those pages; this would in some degree have pointed out the proportional number of one letter to another, but whether it was done by this, or by what other method, is not easy to discover: however it is generally supposed, the letter-founder's bill was made in the fifteenth century, but on what principle all writers

A beautiful copy of these Gospels was in the library of the late Rev. Clayton Cracherode, and is now deposited with the rest of his books and collections in the British Museum. There is another copy in my library.

are silent: the various ligatures and abbreviations used by the early printers made more types necessary than at present.

Printers divide a fount of letters into two classes, namely, the upper-case and the lower-case. The upper-case contains large capitals, small capitals, accented letters, figures, and marks of references.

The lower-case consists of small letters, ligatures, points, spaces, and quadrates.

This may appear more clearly by exhibiting a Letter-founder's bill for a fount of Pica Roman letters for the English language, shewing the proportional number of one letter to another, with the number of types proposed for making the English fount more perfect.

LOWER CASE.				CAPITALS.				SPACES.	
Usual No cast.		Proposed Number.		Usual No cast.		Proposed Number.		Usual No cast.	
a	7000	...	7500	A	700	...	850	Thick	18000
b	1600	...	1200	B	500	...	450	Middle	12000
c	2400	...	1500	C	600	...	800	Thin	8000
d	4000	...	4800	D	600	...	450	Hair	4000
e	12000	...	14000	E	700	...	700	m quad.	2500
f	2500	...	2500	F	500	...	450	n quad.	5000
g	1600	...	1300	G	500	...	600		
h	6000	...	6500	H	500	...	550		49500
i	6000	...	5000	I	700	...	1000		
j	500	...	300	J	300	...	500		
k	800	...	900	K	400	...	450		
l	3500	...	3000	L	500	...	600		
m	3000	...	2000	M	650	...	800		
n	6500	...	6500	N	500	...	500		
o	6500	...	7000	O	500	...	500		
p	1600	...	1000	P	600	...	800		
q	500	...	300	Q	250	...	300		
r	5000	...	6000	R	500	...	600		
f	2500	...	2500	S	600	...	800		
s	3000	...	2400	T	700	...	1000		
t	7500	...	7500	U	400	...	400		
u	3000	...	2000	V	350	...	500		
v	1200	...	1000	W	500	...	600		
w	1600	...	2000	X	200	...	300		
x	400	...	400	Y	300	...	300		
y	1800	...	2000	Z	100	...	100		
z	250	...	200	Æ	60	...	100		
&	250	...	200	Œ	50	...	50		
92500		92500		12850		15050		10800	12600

QUADRATES.

2 m's	10 lb.
3 m's	30 lb.
4 m's	40 lb.

FIGURES.

Usual No cast.		Proposed Number.	
1	1200	...	1800
2	1200	...	1300
3	1200	...	1300
4	1000	...	1100
5	1000	...	1100
6	1000	...	1200
7	1000	...	1900
8	1000	...	1000
9	1000	...	1000
0	1200	...	1800

DOUBLE LETTERS.

	Usual No cast.	Proposed Number.
ft	1000	800
fh	800	600
fi	500	500
fi	500	400
ff	400	300
ff	400	150
fl	200	150
fk	200	150
fm	50	50
fm	100	100
ffi	150	200
ffi	150	200
fb	100	100
fk	100	100
et	400	300
æ	150	150
œ	100	100
<hr/>		<hr/>
5300		4350

POINTS.

	Usual No cast.	Proposed Number.
,	5000	5000
;	1000	1000
:	1000	600
.	2500	2000
-	1500	1000
?	400	400
!	300	200
†	80	100
‡	80	100
*	80	200
[200	200
(400	300
	80	100
§	50	100
¶	50	50
<hr/>		<hr/>
12720		11350

	Usual Number.	Proposed Number.
Lower-Case	92500	92500
Capitals	1285	15050
Double Letters	5300	4350
Figures	10800	12500
Points	12720	11350
Spaces	49500	49500
<hr/>		<hr/>
183670		185250

A Letter-founder's bill for a fount of Roman letters for the French language, taken from a curious work intituled, *Manuel Typographique*, by Mons. Fournier the younger. Tom. i. p. 289.^h

SMALL LETTERS.		DOUBLE LETT		POINTS.	ACCENTS.	
a	5000	æ	100	,	á	50
b	1000	œ	100	;	é	1600
c	2600	w	100	:	í	50
ç	150	&	500	!	ó	50
d	3200	et	300	-	ú	50
e	10500	ft	600	'	à	500
f	1000	fi	400	!	è	300
g	1000	fi	500	?	ì	50
h	800	fl	100	;	ò	50
i	5500	fl	50	;	ù	100
j	500	ff	300	[â	100
k	100	ff	400	G	ê	350
l	4000	ffi	200	†	î	100
m	2600	ffi	250	\$	ô	100
n	5000	ffl	50	¶	û	100
o	4500	ŷ	50		ë	100
p	2000	R	50		ï	100
q	1500				ü	100
r	5000					
s	3500					
f	1800					
t	5000					
u	5000					
v	1200					
x	400					
y	300					
z	400					

^h This curious work is in 2 vols. duodecimo, and contains letter-founders bills for various languages, which enable us to judge of, and compare the number of sounds that occur in each language. It also exhibits a greater variety of alphabets and types than are to be met with in any other book on the Art of Printing: though types in imitation of different kinds of writing were cast in the infancy of the art. In 1561 Valerius Doricus printed at Rome a curious book on all kinds of writing, ancient and modern. This book contains specimens of a great variety of writing practised in different ages and countries; some of these specimens are printed from types made to imitate writing, and others from carved blocks of wood. This book also contains a Treatise on the Art of Writing in Cipher, and is a most curious specimen of early typography; it was written by John Baptist Palatin, a citizen of Rome, about the year 1540. There are other editions of this book, and some works of the like nature were published in Germany about the same time.

CAPITALS.		SMALL CAPITALS.		FIGURES.	
A	320	A	200	1	250
B	100	B	60	2	250
C	250	C	120	3	200
C	25	Ç	15	4	200
D	300	D	150	5	200
E	450	E	350	6	200
È	50	È	50	7	200
È	20	È	20	8	200
È	20	È	20	9	200
È	20	F	60	0	200
F	120	G	60		
G	120	H	50		
H	100	I	250		
I	350	J	100		
J	200	K	20		
K	20	L	180		
L	300	M	150		
M	260	N	200		
N	320	O	200		
O	300	P	120		
P	250	Q	100		
Q	200	R	200		
R	320	S	200		
S	320	T	200		
T	320	U	200		
U	300	V	100		
V	250	X	50		
X	100	Y	40		
Y	80	Z	40		
Z	80	Æ	20		
Æ	30	Œ	20		
Œ	30	W	20		
W	25				

SUPERIORS.

a	20
c	50
o	100
r	50

It is scarcely to be supposed, that the first Letter-founders were conversed in the analysis of the sounds of language; but their bills are highly worthy the attention of those, who wish to be conversant in the doctrine of *Sounds*.

A P P E N D I X :

SINCE the first publication of this Work the following Dissertation was written, which being illustrative of many particulars therein mentioned, and having been enlarged and improved, it is thought proper to insert it in the present edition, although part of it was printed in the Archæologia, vol. vii.

ON THE •

RADICAL LETTERS OF THE PELASGIANS, • • • AND THEIR DERIVATIVES.

By Mr. ASTLE.

A KNOWLEDGE of the radical letters of any language, is the surest means of obtaining information respecting the sounds of which such language was composed, and of the state of it when these radical letters only were used. This will best enable us to recover those which have been for many ages so intirely neglected as to be in a manner effaced. The utility which results from a distinction of the radical letters of such languages from their derivatives is too obvious to need illustration; the separation of the one from the other, will assist in forming a right judgment of the age and authenticity of coins, inscriptions, and other ancient documents, and will be of the greatest use in distinguishing such as are genuine from those which are spurious. The Pelasgian language and letters had been intirely neglected and disused for so long a period of time before the restoration of science in the fifteenth century, that they were in a manner as much unknown as if they had never existed, although they had been used in all the extensive countries settled by the Pelasgi

and their descēdents, as well in Asia as in Europe, who for many ages wrote from right to left, till their alphabet was improved by the *Ionians*, who reversing their letters, wrote from left to right, and in process of time their method of writing was universally adopted in Europe, and in some parts of Asia.

I conceive I have elsewhere proved, that the Pelasgi derived their letters from the Phenicians, and that these Pelasgi were of Phenician original.* They were certainly the most ancient inhabitants of Greece of whom we have any account. The Phenician Pelasgi settled colonies in several islands of the Ægean sea, as Samothrace, Lemnos, Imbrus, and Scyros. They also spread themselves, not only on the maritime, but in the inland parts of Greece, in Attica, Thessaly, all the old Hellas, Argolis, and all over the Peloponnese; and several colonies of them, particularly from Lydia, Lemnos, Imbrus, Thessaly, and Arcadia, settled in different parts of Italy, and possessed themselves of the greatest part of that country, where of course they carried their language and letters.

Solinus Polyhistor relates, that the Greek colonies who settled in Italy were *Aborigines*, *Aurunci*, *Pelasgi*, *Arcades*, *Siculi*; and Pliny^b says, they were *Aborigines*, *Pelasgi*, *Arcades*, *Siculi*, *Aurunci*, *Rutuli*, *Osci*, *Volsci*, and *Ausones*. All these colonists wrote in the Pelasgian manner, from right to left, till the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of the Romans, who began to reign five hundred and sixty-five years before Christ; although the Samnites continued to write in the ancient manner so late as two hundred and thirty years before the Christian æra, as appears by their coins and inscriptions. The Pelasgi who settled in Etruria were called Etruscans; the monuments discovered in that country, as also in *Umbria*, and in the other parts of Italy settled by the early colonies of the Pelasgi, afford us the best information concerning the Pelasgian language and characters.

The five tables discovered at Eugubium, a city of *Umbria*, in the year 1456, are of very high antiquity; and father Gori, with great strength of argument, labours to prove, that they were written two centuries before the Trojan war. However, three of them are written in the Pelasgian

* See Chap. iv. p. 51, & seq.

^b Hist. Nat. lib. iii. cap. 5.

language, and in characters similar to those found on several Etruscan monuments preserved by *Dempster*, *Gori*, *Passer*, and others.*

The alphabet which the *Pelasgi* first brought into Italy, and which has been called their original alphabet, was probably carried out of Phenicia before the Phenicians themselves had augmented the number of the radical letters, of which it was originally composed. This alphabet consisted of *thirteen* letters according to Dr. Swinton; but, according to father Gori, who appears to have been better informed, the original alphabet consisted only of *twelve* letters. As these authors differ materially it may be proper to give both alphabets.

According to Dr. SWINTON.

	A	A
	Э	E
v. 8. 8.	⌈	F
	⌈	H
	/	I
	⌋	K
	⌋	L
	M	M
	И	N
	1	P
	q	R
	2	S
	†	T

According to Father GORI.

	A	A
	Э	E
	⌈	I
к. я. ъ	⌋	K
	⌋	L
	M	M
	Н	N
	1	P
	q	R
	2	S
	†	T
8. 1.	⌋	V

Father Gori tells us, that the *Ητα* was afterwards added; and he also shews that the double and aspirated letters *Θ*, *Ξ*, *Φ*, and *Χ*, were admitted among the later Etruscans. The double letters were not originally members of the Pelasgian alphabet: though, as they appear on Etruscan monuments, we may conclude they existed before the time of *Palamedes*;

* Two other tables were found at the same time, written in Roman letters, but these do not relate to the present subject.

who is said to have invented them about twenty years before the taking of Troy, or 1164 years before Christ.

From the above alphabets we discover, that the Pelasgi had too few original letters to express distinctly the several sounds of their language; they were therefore under the necessity of annexing several sounds to one and the same letter; but, as they improved their language, they as well as the Greeks, added other characters, significant of the sounds thereof.

The letters Γ, Δ, Ζ, Η, Ο, Ϛ, or Ω, were not originally in the Pelasgian alphabet; neither are the letters Γ, Δ, Ζ, Ο, nor the Ω, or any of the double letters to be found on the Eugubian tables,^d nor on the stone in the Oscan language, some years since discovered at Abella,^e which is evidently of much later date than the Eugubian tables. It is true, that a character in form similar to the Ϛ (thus Ḳ) had then obtained a place in the Oscan alphabet, in which it had sometimes the power of the Æolic digamma, or the V consonant, and occasionally that of the Ο, if we may credit Gebelin.

The B had not obtained its proper form when the Eugubian tables were written, nor doth it occur in the Sigeian inscription. Its sound seems to have been conveyed by the Ϙ, ϙ, or the Æolic digamma; but it afterwards obtained the sound of the augmented Π, its parent character.^f

The Γ is the K diminished, and was formerly represented by the half of that character thus Ι, as appears on a bronze lately found in Calabria where the Doric dialect prevailed,^g which is supposed to have been made

^d A letter like the Ionic theta Θ is found on these tables, but it has the power of the aspirate Η.


^e A city of Campania near Nola in Italy, and published at Rome in 1774, with notes by J. B. Passer. See more concerning this inscription in Gebelin's *Monde Primitif*, vol. iv. p. 216, et seq.

^f Mr. Chishull supposes, that the Π was the B diminished, whereas the latter is the Π augmented.

^g This Bronze is preserved in cardinal Borgia's Museum at Veletri, and was by him kindly communicated to me. I afterward submitted it to the inspection of Richard Payne Knight, Esq. who has mentioned it in his very learned and curious *Analytical Essay on the Greek alphabet*, p. 4. 16. 68. Lond. 1791, 4to. Several particulars concerning this Bronze will be mentioned hereafter.

five hundred years before Christ; an exemplar of which will be given hereafter. I find that the Γ was frequently supplied by the K in ancient documents, particularly in the Sigeon inscription, where ΚΝΥ2 or ΣΥΚΕ is written for ΣΥΓΗ. This inscription is in the Æolic dialect, and was written in the five hundred and ninety-fourth year before Christ.

The Δ is derived from the Τ, which supplied its place till the former character was admitted into the Greek alphabet, as appears by the Oscan inscription above referred to, and by other ancient documents.

In times of very remote antiquity the Greeks had not a sufficient number of letters for the notation of their language. A character somewhat like the Δ seems to have supplied the place of the Ζ. On a medal struck at Zancle (now Messina), about the 28th Olympiad, it is written ΔΑΝΚΑΕ; and the same character is observable on the shield of *Anaxidamus*, the son of *Zeuxidamus*, which is nearly of the same date, and is written thus ΔΕΥΚΕΙΔΑΜΟ. The character like the Δ was sometimes converted into the P, for the ancient Greeks sometimes wrote ΠΕΥΚΕΙΔΑΜΟΣ and ΠΑΝΚΑΕ. This shews the uncertainty of writing before they had polished their language, although I find that the Σ and the Δ united sometimes supplied the place of the Ζ, yet I conceive this letter to be only the Σ augmented; for in early times its sound was conveyed by ΣΣ, though some have deduced it from the Phenician Zain! but this character was not used by the Pelasgi. The zeta in its present form doth not appear in the *Marmor Sarmaticense*, which was written at the end of the 101st Olympiad, or three hundred and forty-four years before Christ, nor in several of the ancient inscriptions preserved by Chishull, who says that its ancient form was thus .

The Η, Ħ or E long, sounded as an aspirate, is said to have been introduced into the Greek alphabet by *Simonides*; but it appears, by the Eugubian tables, and other ancient monuments, that it was admitted before his time. The literati have disputed whether the Η should be admitted as a letter, or be esteemed only as a mere sign, or note of aspiration. Varro, and many who have followed him, consider it only as an

¹ See D'Hancarville's *Recherches sur l'origine, l'esprit, et les progrès des arts de la Grece*. Vol. ii. plate xxi. London 1785, 4to.

² See *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 50. 68. 98.

aspirate. It is certainly of high antiquity, for it is found in the ancient Phenician and Hebrew alphabets. Plato in his *Cratylus* truly says, that the Athenians anciently wrote E and not H: his words are Οὐ γὰρ Η ἔχρωμεθα, ἀλλὰ Ε το παλαιόν; though it is certain that this character had different powers.*

The Pelasgian γ or F, was undoubtedly derived from the Phenician *Vau*, and was at first supplied by the V; and when it was used as an aspirate, it was inverted thus Ϻ, I conceive it to be the parent of the Greek Φ, because it is found on the coins of the *Bastuli* who were Phenicians, on the Eugubian tables, and on the most ancient Etruscan monuments, long before the Greek Φ was used. These testimonies might induce Dr. Swinton to consider the γ or F as one of the original characters of the primitive Etruscan alphabet; but father Gori does not allow it to be such, and this letter was pronounced like the V, a palatial aspirate.† The use of it as a labial aspirate or Φ was of a later period, and the mode of pronouncing it with the lips and teeth, as now practised, is of a still later age.

The ϣ is derived from the Phenician *Vau*, sounded as the vowel U. It was introduced to soften the harshness of the V Consonant; and afterwards the Greeks rendered it by the diphthong ου.‡ The O is said to have been included in the ϣ, but although this last character might convey the sound, yet I find the former was introduced into the Phenician alphabet long before the ϣ, used as a vowel, appeared in its present form. It is in both the Sigeian inscriptions, and in the old cup mentioned by Achæus in Athenæus, on which was inscribed ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟ. In this word the ϣ is distinguished from it; and here the last O is pronounced like ου, as Athenæus and others assure us from the best authorities:§ but notwithstanding this, the letter O doth not appear in the Eugubian tables, nor in the primary Pelasgian alphabet; and if it was not derived from the Phenician *vau*, when sounded as a vowel, I am at a loss to account from what radix it is descended. In some of the old Phenician alphabets, its form is that of the U vowel; and when it was first admitted into the Etruscan alphabet, it was sometimes like the inverted ϣ thus ɹ, but

* See *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 20.

† See Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 17, n. 31, and p. 19.

‡ Jackson's *Chronological Antiq.* vol. iii. p. 166 et seq.

more generally like the inverted γ thus \Re ; however it is certain, that the sound of the long O existed before the addition of the mark Ω to the Attic alphabet, which before was composed of two omikrons thus O O.

The different powers of Homer's O are proved by Dr. Taylor to be three; namely, O, Ω , and ω ,^a though I much doubt whether these three different characters existed in the Greek alphabet so early as the days of Homer, because Pronopides his master, and also Orpheus and Thymætes of Lacedæmon, who were nearly his contemporaries, used the Pelasgian characters.^o

The Pelasgian Δ when guttural or hard had the power of K, when soft, that of the Σ . We find that this character, like the Roman C, with a reversed aspect, had the power of Σ near one thousand years before the Christian æra,^r and perhaps this ancient Pelasgian character was the parent of the more modern Σ of the Greeks, although the early colonists who settled in Italy wrote the Σ as in the alphabet above given, which was continued by the Romans, and is still in use with a reversed aspect.

I shall now speak of the aspirated and double letters, namely Θ , Ξ , Φ , χ , and Ψ , which appear on the later Pelasgian and Etruscan monuments. The Θ is the T aspirated, the Ξ and the χ are said to have been added by *Palamedes*. They are found on some very early coins, and on ancient inscriptions. The former of these letters was supplied by the junction of the K with the Σ , and the latter is the Phenician G H, which the Etruscans softened into ϕ H, as will hereafter appear.

Perhaps the K of the Eugubian inscriptions may be reckoned among the double letters, as its figure is evidently composed of two distinct parts thus χ , which seems to have been originally two distinct elements. The one is the *Jota*, and the other the *Æolic gamma*, the parent of the Roman C, and was probably pronounced CH, like the C of the modern Italians. We find this character signifying CH, in the inscription on the stone in the Oscan language abovementioned.

The derivative letters were introduced into the Pelasgian and Greek alphabets at different periods. As those people polished their language, they added new letters or marks for the better and more harmonious con-

^a See Dr. Taylor's Elements of Civil Law, p. 553, 554, and 555, and Chishull ut supra.

^o Recherches sur l'Origine &c. des Arts de la Grece, par Mr. D'Hancarville, vol. ii. p. 320.

^r See above, pl. ii. p. 66. D'Hancarville ut supra, p. 202. 206. 242. 247. n. 100.

veying the sounds thereof. Several of them must have been introduced long before the practice of writing from left to right was generally adopted, because they are found on many Phenician and Pelasgian coins and inscriptions which are written from the right hand, from whence they have been inserted into the alphabets of those nations, published by several diplomatic writers.* The Athenians wrote from the right hand, near three centuries and a half after the building of Rome. The descendents of the ancient Pelasgi, and particularly the Samnites, continued to write in this manner till the sixth century after that period, or till about two hundred and thirty years before Christ, and the Osci still later, although the Ionians had practised the present mode of writing as early as the third century after the building of Rome.

It has been already observed, that the Eugubian tables have not the letters Γ, Δ, Ζ, Ο, Ϛ, or Ω, nor the letters Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ, or Ψ; whence we may conclude, that they were unknown to the Umbrians when these tables were written.

The Borgan inscription on the Bronze above referred to, was found at Brutium in Calabria in the year 1783, and is now preserved in that Museum at Velitri, engraven in characters partly Pelasgian, partly Etruscan, and partly Greek, which manifests that the Greek alphabet gradually took place of the two former, probably by some centuries before the Christian æra. The abbé Barthelmy delivers it as his opinion, that this Bronze is of the fifth century before Christ, however it proves, that several of the Pelasgian and Etruscan letters were not intirely disused in Calabria when it was fabricated, as appears from the fac-simile herewith given. It is observable that some of the double letters are in this inscription, and that the Γ, the Ι, Ξ, Ζ, and Χ, had not received the forms they afterwards had, and still have in the Greek alphabet.

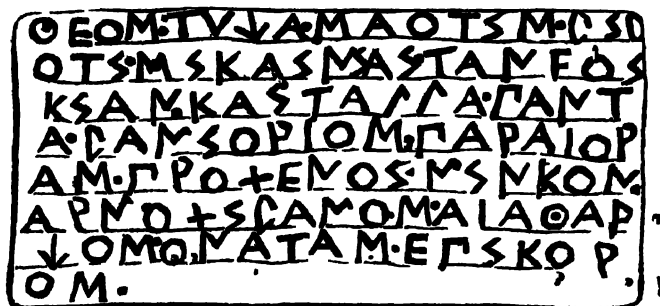
It is a Tesseræ Hospitalis which intitled the bearer to a hospitable reception wherever he might require it. Sometimes they were given by whole communities, and were termed Tesseræ Publicæ; at other times by private persons and were called Privatæ, such being obtained from the friends of the persons desiring them.

* See Nouveau traité de Diplomatique, vol. i. plate vii. p. 654, and p. 64, of this work.

See Monsieur Gæbelin, vol. vi. ut supra.

EXEMPLAR

TESSERÆ HOSPITALES IN MUSEO BORGIANO ASSERVATO.



ΘΕΟΣ . ΤΥΧΑ . ΣΑΟΤΙΣ . ΔΙΑ
 ΟΤΙ . ΣΙΚΑΙΝΙΑΙ . ΤΑΝ . ΦΟΙ
 ΚΙΑΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΤΑΛΛΑ . ΠΑΝΤ
 Α . ΔΑΜΙΟΡΤΟΣ . ΠΑΡΑΓΟΡ
 ΑΣ . ΠΡΟΞΕΝΟΙ . ΜΙΝΚΟΝ.
 ΑΡΜΟΞΙΔΑΜΟΣ . ΑΓΑΘΑΡ
 ΧΟΣ . ΟΝΑΤΑΣ . ΕΠΙΚΟΡ
 ΟΣ.

The above is thus translated:

Dea Fortuna. Servatrix
 Sicachiae domum
 Et reliqua omnia.
 Demiurgus Paragoras
 Conciliatores, Mincon,
 Armodidamus, Agatharchus,
 Onatas, Epicurus.

It is observable that the χ on this inscription is represented thus ψ. The Ξ bears this form +, the Γ is written thus l, the Ι thus ς, the Σ thus Μ. The letters Η, Φ, and χ, appear on the celebrated Sigeian inscription which was written five hundred and ninety years before the Christian æra.

From what has been advanced I conclude, that the original alphabet of the Pelasgians or Etruscans consisted of twelve radical letters, from whence thirteen more characters or letters were derived.

ON THE RADICAL LETTERS

Radicals.

Derivatives.

• A	• A	
Э	E	lengthened or aspirated H
И		
К	κ	diminished
↓		
М	М	
Н	--	
Π	Π	augmented
Ρ	Ρ	
Σ	Σ	augmented
Τ	Τ	augmented
Ζ	Ζ	
Δ	Δ	
Υ	Υ	or F of the Pelasgi and others.
	U	vowel ου or τ. and the O short.
	Ο	O. long or Ω. Ω.

Double and aspirated Letters.

† Τ aspirated Θ

‡ Κ Σ joined Ξ

Ϡ Π aspirated Φ

Ψ ↓ Gh softened into Ch x Chi.

Π and Σ anciently supplied the Ψ.

It has been shewn that the Pelasgi were of Phenician original, and therefore it is easy to conceive, that their languages were nearly allied to each other. The proximity of the earliest Greek to the oriental languages was well known to Isaac Casaubon, Erpenius, Gebelin, and others. Monsieur Bourguet and father Gori shew, that the language of the Pelasgi differed but little from the Greek: but although their opinions have been controverted, it must be allowed that the Greeks improved the language of their Pelasgian ancestors to so great a degree; that the elegant orations spoken by Isocrates and Demosthenes, were as different from the harsh dialects of the ancient Pelasgi, as was the English of Addison and Pope, from that of Robert of Gloucester, Occleve, or Chaucer. It is therefore manifest, that the rude language of the ancient Pelasgi was very different from the later or Hellenic Greek.

The descendents of the Pelasgi who settled in Etruria, Umbria, and in other parts of Italy, were celebrated for their knowledge in the arts and sciences. Both Greeks and Romans sent their youth into Etruria for education. A very interesting account of the learning and writings of the Etruscans is given in the ancient part of the Universal History, vol. xvi. from p. 57 to 62. The best writers agree, that the arts and sciences were very conspicuous in Rome before its citizens had any intercourse with the Greeks, and in these they must have imitated the Etruscans, of whose skill and ingenuity we have so many proofs.

Their paintings are admirable, and the colours on their vases, which have been executed above two thousand years, are as perfect as if they had been the works of modern times.

The Pelasgian or Etruscan language was spoken in the Augustan age, as we learn from Aulus Gellius, and Strabo. It was also patronized by the emperor Claudius, as appears by a speech of that emperor recorded by Tacitus, in which he says, “*Retulit ad senatum super collegio Haruspicum, ne vetustissima Italiae disciplina per desidiā cōsolesceret, quam tamen primores Etruriæ adhuc retinebant et in familias propagabant.*” It seems extraordinary, that none of the mss. in the Pelasgian or Etruscan language should have been transmitted to us; for it appears by a passage in Ammianus Marcellinus, that the Etruscan records were preserved in the college of Augurs till the middle of the fourth century after Christ; and that the Augurs assisted the emperor Julian with the sacred discipline of their mysteries, by bringing him their books, which were written in the Etruscan letters and language. This was probably done when Julian reformed the Pagan worship.

After the reign of this prince we hear no more of the Etruscan records or mss. for Christianity being re-established in the reign of his successor, and this Pagan learning being offensive to the Christians, they have, and I fear with too much reason, been charged with having destroyed those monuments of ancient learning. This was more the effect of zeal than of prudence; for the Etruscan records could not have contained any thing that would have invalidated the truths of Christianity. However, from

Aulus Gellius Noct. Atticæ, l. xi. c. 7. Strabo, l. vii.

^t Ann. xi. 15.

^u Lib. xx c. 5.

this period, the Pelasgian or Etruscan language was intirely disused, and in a short time after was not understood by the inhabitants of Italy.

The ancient Pelasgian language has been disused for near thirteen centuries; but the study of it has of late become fashionable among the literati, and it has been cultivated with great success by M. Bouguet, the prelate Urbina, father Gori, Maffei, John Christopher Amadutius, John Baptist Passer, and other illustrious men, as well in Italy, France, and Germany, as by our countryman the late Dr. Swinton, from all whose labours it may be collected, that the Pelasgian language and characters are preserved in the monuments which have been called Etruscan, and that every thing relative to the religious, civil, military, and naval establishments among the Romans, was derived from the Etruscans, and the other descendents of the ancient Pelasgi, who settled in different parts of Italy.

The Ionians, it has been observed, were the first Greeks who turned their letters towards the right hand, and wrote from left to right. Homer was a native of Ionia, where the Pelasgic alphabet was first improved; but how many of the derivative letters, were introduced into the Greek alphabet in the days of Homer, cannot now be ascertained. The Athenians adopted the Ionian letters in the ninety-fourth Olympiad, or about four hundred and four years before Christ. The Arcadian letters are immediately derived from the improved Ionian alphabet, and the Latin or Roman from the Arcadian.

The alphabets derived from the Roman are the Lombardic, the Visigothic, the Saxon, the Gallican, the Franco-Gallic or Merovingian, the Teutonic or German, the Carolinian, the Capetian, and the modern Gothic, as I have shewn in the fourth and fifth Chapters of the preceding work.

* He is said to have written about one hundred and sixty-eight years after the destruction of Troy, or as some will have it, about nine hundred and seven before Christ.

FINIS.

